DOCTOR OF BUSINESS (DBA)

The Lifelong-Learning University: How do Swiss Universities Experience and Respond to the Institutional Pressure of Engaging in Lifelong Learning - An exploratory multiple case study

Volles, Nina

Award date:
2019

Awarding institution:
University of Bath

The Lifelong-Learning University:
How do Swiss Universities Experience and Respond to the Institutional Pressure of Engaging in Lifelong Learning

An Exploratory Multiple Case Study

Nina Volles

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Business Administration (Higher Education Management)

University of Bath
School of Management

January 2019

Signed on behalf of the Doctoral College_____(print name)

The Lifelong-Learning University:
How do Swiss Universities Experience and Respond to the Institutional Pressure of Engaging in Lifelong Learning

An exploratory multiple case study

Nina Volles

"As students of organizations, we must accept the fact that we are studying hope and attempts (sometimes called management) as much as we are studying results. It may seem more relevant and efficient for scholars to attend to the results rather than the attempts, to the successes rather than the failures, to existing orders such as institutions or culture rather than attempts at organizing and management. However, the existing order is partly the result of the few active organizing attempts that were successful, and it is difficult to understand the successes fully without understanding the failures."

From Nils Brunsson's book *Mechanisms of hope: maintaining the dream of the rational organization* (2006, p.225)

Dedication

To my parents, Dr Reswandokht Volles-Payami and Professor Dr Erwin Volles, who instilled a deep passion for lifelong learning in me.

Acknowledgements

I want to express my heartfelt thanks to some individuals without whose direction and encouragement, the writing of my doctoral thesis and the completion of the DBA programme would have been “mission impossible”:

Firstly, my two Supervisors, Professor Jürgen Enders and Professor Ian Jamieson whose commitment in providing me with academic guidance has been unwavering, even though this journey took far longer than anticipated. Professor Enders never grew tired of providing advice and constructive criticism – the supervisory sessions always were a moment of intellectual delight, which was crucial in keeping my spirits up. Professor Jamieson never became weary of re-reading my chapters, offering timely feedback without ever losing his good humour.

Professor Rajani Naidoo and the broader DBA team, who have made the experience both rewarding and memorable; and my DBA11 peers with whom I have formed a global network of colleagues and friends.

Special credit is due to the interviewees and the four Swiss Universities which opened their doors to me. By agreeing to participate in the numerous interviews, each higher education institute allowed me to analyse their organisation in depth. Without such goodwill, I would not have had access to the necessary data for my research.

I would also like to express my appreciation for the support received by my employer, the Università della Svizzera italiana, in particular, Albino Zgraggen (Secretary General) and Professor Piero Martinoli (ex-President) who both placed their belief in me.

As importantly, I would like to thank my family: my parents, Dr Reswandokht Volles-Payami and Professor Dr Erwin Volles, for instilling a love for learning in me; my husband Richard and my daughter Thaïs who often thought I was crazy to be doing yet another programme. They supported me throughout these six years through continuous encouragement me and creating “free spaces” for me to work on the four assignments and the thesis. Thank you for your immense patience.

Contents

List of Tables *9*

List of Figures *9*

List of Abbreviations and Symbols *10*

Abstract *12*

1 Introduction *13*

1.1 University lifelong learning behind the backdrop of institutional complexity **13**

1.2 Methodology and theoretical frameworks **14**

1.3 Structure of the thesis **16**

1.4 Anticipated contribution to knowledge **16**

2 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework *18*

2.1 Introduction **18**

2.2 Literature review process **19**

2.3 Theories of unlocking organisational responses to institutional pressure **20**

2.3.1 Neo-institutional theory 20

2.3.2 Resource dependence theory 22

2.3.3 Combining neo-institutional theory and resource dependence theory 23

2.4 Institutional complexity: the origin, meaning and degree of institutional pressure **27**

2.4.1 The organisational environment: the field and competing (or even conflicting) demands 28

2.4.1.3 Position in the field **30**

2.4.2 From temporary to lasting institutional complexity 31

2.4.3 Boundary spanning, sensemaking and strategizing 31

2.5 Organisational responses to institutional pressures **36**

2.5.1 Strategies as a response to multiple competing demands 36

2.5.2 Structures and strategies as a response to multiple competing demands 38

2.5.3 Organisational attributes as filters 39

2.5.4 Missing factors 44

2.6 Research questions **45**

2.7 Conclusion **46**

3 Research Design *49*

3.1 Introduction 49

3.2 Research methodology: a qualitative case-study research approach 49

3.2.1 Strategy of inquiry: an exploratory multiple case-study 49

3.2.2 Case selection 51

3.2.3 Data collection 51

3.2.4 Data analysis 55

3.3 Ethical considerations 56

3.3.1 Protecting participants and seeking consent 57

3.3.2 Ensuring confidentiality 58

3.3.3 Avoiding bias 58

4 Conceptual Development and Terminology 60

4.1 Evolution of terminology 60

4.2 From continuing education to lifelong learning 61

5 The development of lifelong learning in the EU and Switzerland 64

5.1 European Union 64

5.1.1 Development of the lifelong learning notion in Europe 64

5.1.2 Higher Education enter the LLL field 66

5.1.3 EU funding increases pressure to move towards the lifelong learning university 69

5.1.4 Gap between EU policy discourse and implementation 71

5.2 Switzerland 73

5.2.1 Switzerland's economy and its higher education system 73

5.2.2 Development of LLL in Switzerland 76

5.2.3 University continuing education in Switzerland 80

6 Data Analysis and Findings 86

6.1 Introduction 86

6.2 Overview of the four Swiss Universities 86

6.2.1 University "A" 86

6.2.2 University "B" 88

6.2.3 University "C" 89

6.2.4 University "D" 90

6.2.5 Overview of the key figures for university continuing education 92

6.3 Origin, meaning and degree of institutional pressure to engage in continuous education and how the HEIs experience it 94

6.3.1 Overall institutional complexity as perceived by the HEIs (meso level) 94

6.3.2 University continuing education: origin, meaning and degree of institutional pressure to engage in university continuing education 101

6.4 Organisational responses filtered by organisational attributes 109

6.4.1 Field 109

6.4.2 Ownership 112

6.4.3 Funding 115

6.4.4 Governance, structure and representation 116

6.4.5 Organisational identity 120

6.4.6 Profile of HE and UCE leaders 121

6.4.7 Internal communication 122

7 Discussion 123

7.1 Institutional complexity: combining neo-institutional and resource dependence theory 123

7.2 Sources, meaning and degree of institutional pressures 124

7.3 Organisational responses to institutional pressures and organisational filters 127

7.3.1 Field 128

7.3.2 Ownership, funding, governance 129

7.3.3 Structures 129

7.3.4 Organisational identity 134

7.4 Future research 135

7.5 Implications for practice 137

7.6 Limitations 139

8 Conclusion 141

8.1 Sources, degrees and meaning of institutional pressure 141

8.2 Responses to institutional pressure filtered by organisational attributes 143

8.3 Summary 145

9 References 146

10 Appendices 161

10.1 List of interviewees 162

10.2 Interview questions 163

10.3 Coding samples 172

10.3.1 Sample 1 172

10.3.2 Sample 2 173

10.3.3 Sample 3 174
10.3.4 Sample 4 175
10.4 Code book 176

List of Tables

Table 1: Comparison of new institutional and resource dependence perspectives 24
Table 2: A model of responses to conflicting institutional demands 37
Table 3: Overview of analysed desk materials 52
Table 4: Overview of 36 interviews conducted in the four HEIs 53
Table 5: Evolution of terminology 63
Table 6: Regulatory overview of continuing education in Switzerland 79
Table 7: Overview of the four Swiss universities 92
Table 8: Overview of institutional pressures 98

List of Figures

Figure 1: Institutional complexity and organisational responses 39
Figure 2: Total expenditure of Swiss Universities for continuing education by subject area/discipline 83

List of Abbreviations

AUCEN	Netzwerk für Universitäre Weiterbildung und Personalentwicklung in Österreich
BFS	Bundesamt für Statistik / Federal Statistical Office
CAS	Certificate of Advanced Studies
CET	Continuing education and training
CH	Switzerland
CRUS	Conférence des Recteurs des Universités Suisses
DAS	Diploma of Advanced Studies
DBA	Doctor of Business Administration
DGWF	Deutsche Gesellschaft für wissenschaftliche Weiterbildung und Fernstudium
EAER	Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research
EC	European Commission
EDEN	European Distance and E-learning Network
EPFL	École polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne
ERFA	Erfahrungsaustauschgruppe/ experience exchange group
ET2020	Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training
ETHZ	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich
EU	European Union
EUCEN	European Association for University Lifelong Learning
fig.	Figure
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HEM	Higher Education Management
HFKG	Schweizerisches Hochschulförderungs- und -koordinationsgesetz / Swiss law on higher education funding and coordination
ICT	Information Communication Technology
KTI	Eidgenössische Kommission für Technologie und Innovation / Federal Commission for Technology and Innovation
LLL	Lifelong learning
LLLU	Lifelong Learning University
MAS	Master of Advanced Studies
MOOC	Massive Open Online Course

NIT	Neo-institutional theory
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PET	Professional education and training
RDT	Resource dependence theory
RQ	Research question
SBFI	Staatssekretariat für Bildung, Forschung und Innovation / State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation
SHK	Schweizerische Hochschulkonferenz / Swiss Higher Education Conference
SERI	State Secretariat for Education and Research and Innovation
SFSO	Swiss Federal Statistical Office
SNSF	Swiss National Science Foundation
SSREC	Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
SVEB	Swiss Federation for Adult Learning
UCE	University Continuing Education
ULLL	University Lifelong Learning
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VAE	Validation of Acquired Experience
VET	Vocational education and training
vs	versus
WBO	Weiterbildungsoffensive / continuing education stimulus programme
WeBiG	Bundesgesetz über die Weiterbildung / Swiss law on continuing education

Abstract

This thesis is an organisational study using the example of university lifelong learning to analyse how universities deal with new and sometimes conflicting demands that might contribute to the overall institutional complexity. Over the past decades, lifelong learning has developed from a policy discourse limited to a small circle of educational actors to a central element of the European Union (EU)'s social and economic reform agenda with higher education institutions (HEI) expected to play a major role. The EU's strongest lever to persuade universities to engage in lifelong learning has been the use of their normative power. Yet, Swiss Universities have been hesitant to fully embrace lifelong learning as part of their 'third mission'. Consequently, the gap between words and actions has narrowed little over the past decade. That is the point of departure for the research question underpinning the thesis: How do Swiss Universities experience and respond to the institutional pressure to engage in lifelong learning against a backdrop of institutional complexity? The thesis combines neo-institutional and resource dependence theory, which provide different perspectives on organisational stability, conformity and change. The analysis is complemented by the use of organisational attributes ('filters'), allowing for a better grasp of the internal dynamics behind the organisational responses. The original research was carried out within the framework of an exploratory multiple case study of four Swiss universities. The analysis of the data reveals that the European lifelong learning policy discourse rarely penetrates the walls of Swiss HEIs. Moreover, when it does, it is only partly diffused inside the institution due to decoupling mechanisms, structural differentiation of continuing education activities (hybrid structure) and the lack of diffusion inside the organisation. This strategy – consciously chosen or not – allows universities to avoid internal conflict and external scrutiny but also paralyses the further development of university lifelong learning. The data also shows that the high level of uncertainty and ambiguity pushes universities to engage in mimetic isomorphic processes. However, in one case, the study demonstrates that institutional contradictions can trigger reflexivity, leading the institution to proactively manage the contradictory prescriptions and dependencies transforming incompatibility into a competitive advantage.

1 Introduction

This thesis is an organisational study using the example of university lifelong learning to analyse how universities deal with the institutional complexity that might arise from new and sometimes conflicting demands. Since the 1990s, European higher education has been affected by a complex set of pressures (Sursock and Smidt 2010). Three developments have been contributing to that change: (1) the shift toward knowledge-led economies; (2) the impact of the economic, financial and sovereign debt crisis on European labour markets, economies and societies; and (3) the negative impact of the demographic ageing (European Commission 2012). With this in mind, policymakers in Europe have placed higher education as 'economic engines' (Jongbloed *et al.* 2008) at the centre of their competitiveness agendas (Sursock and Smidt 2010; Curaj *et al.* 2012; Gornitzka *et al.* 2017) crucial for knowledge production through research, innovation and the constant up-skilling of the labour force. The trends have not only resulted in the massive expansion of student numbers, marketisation and internationalisation (among others) but have also led to changes in the social contract. Boundaries within the field and between different industry sectors, publics and stakeholders have become more permeable, exposing universities to conflicting demands imposed by their institutional environment (Kraatz and Block 2008; Greenwood *et al.* 2011). Compliance is difficult to achieve as satisfying the new demands can lead to intra-organisational tension and inconsistencies (Kraatz and Block 2008; Pache and Santos 2010; Battilana and Dorado 2010; Greenwood et al. 2011).

1.1 University lifelong learning behind the backdrop of institutional complexity

Universities have been asked to deliver on many additional and sometimes conflicting demands over the past two decades (e.g. innovation, technology transfer, employability, widening access – for a list, see Table 8. P. 98). Lifelong learning (LLL) represents a salient example of such a new demand on higher education institutions. A number of university continuing education activities have been developed since the mid-1990s. However, it has become clear, that offering some continuing education programmes, is not enough anymore. In 2008, the European University Association (EUA)[1] presented the *European Universities' Charter on Lifelong Learning* (EUA 2008). The EUA members committed themselves to widening the offer for returning learners,

[1] The European University Association (EUA) represents national rectors' conferences and universities of 46 European countries. All of the Swiss Universities are full members of the association. The EUA does not only play an important role in the Bologna Process but also influences EU higher education, research and innovation policies. To ensure that the independent voice of European universities is heard, the EUA also interacts with other European and international organisations.

validating different forms of prior learning and integrating lifelong learning into their mission and strategy. The signature of the *Leuven Declaration* (Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education 2009) by Higher Education Ministers of 46 countries (including Switzerland) was a further milestone. The signatories committed to a number of lifelong learning priorities, emphasizing that Universities should take a more active role in moving forward the EU's lifelong learning agenda. The message was clear: HEIs are expected to play a major role in realising a "Europe of knowledge" and to step up to a more active role in moving forward the EU's lifelong learning agenda (Viron *et al.* 2011, p.17). Since then, the EU's strongest lever to persuade higher education institutions (HEI) to embrace lifelong learning has been the normative power of networks, key performance indicators, conferences and benchmark reports.

It is uncertain how much progress Swiss universities have made in the past ten years. Although they do offer a range of continuing education programmes, the offer has not grown proportionally with the rest of higher education. Lifelong learning still represents a small part of the overall educational offering of HEIs. What is more, they have barely engaged in other themes that accompany lifelong learning, such as widening access for non-traditional students or the validation of different forms of prior learning. In other words, Swiss universities have not fully embraced LLL as part of their 'third mission', in addition to research and teaching. It seems that the gap between words, decisions and actions has narrowed little over the past decade. This is the point of departure for the central research question underpinning the current thesis: How do Swiss Universities experience and respond to the institutional pressure of engaging in lifelong learning? To answer the research question, this thesis analyses the sources, the degree and meaning of institutional pressure to engage in LLL and investigates how organisational attributes influence responses against the backdrop of institutional complexity.

1.2 Methodology and theoretical frameworks

The original research for this thesis draws from an exploratory multiple case-study of four Swiss universities, with extensive analysis of desk data and over 40 interviews at the heart of the enquiry. The case-study approach allows for the use of several data sources, which facilitates triangulation and supports data validity (Yin 2013, p.120). The four Swiss universities share similar characteristics in terms of disciplinary profiles and governance structures (cantonal universities) but vary somewhat in age, size, geographic location and operating language. Three out of the four HEIs rank among the top 100 universities worldwide.

As the theme of responses to institutional complexity is a relatively recent issue, there remains little research that examines it in a higher education setting. However, the study is able to draw on the growing body of knowledge in non-educational sectors about the strategic and structural responses of organisations to multiple and conflicting institutional demands (e.g. Oliver 1991; Goodrick and Salancik 1996; Scott 2005; Seo and Creed 2002; Scott 2013b; Kraatz and Block 2008; Battilana and Dorado 2010; Pache and Santos 2010; Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Battilana and Lee 2014). But although conflicting external demands and their impact on organisations have received increasing attention, there is still insufficient research on how the external institutional pressure (macro level) is read or made sense of by the organisation and how that impacts its strategy (meso level). Pache and Santos (2010) and Greenwood *et al.* (2011) argue that the research gap results from existing frameworks dealing with organisations as a single actor developing strategic responses to outside pressures without taking into account intra-organisational dynamics such as filtering and sorting out conflicts in institutional demands (Greenwood and Hinings 1996). The lack of deconstructing the organisation ties into the criticism (Kim *et al.* 2007) of neo-institutional theory that the dynamics inside organisations have received insufficient attention as research to date mainly focuses on the diffusion of institutional practices (Dacin *et al.* 2002).

In order to allow for a better understanding of field-specific dynamics (macro level) and the material conditions of organisations (meso level), the thesis draws on a combination of neo-institutional (Zucker 1977; Meyer and Rowan 1977a; DiMaggio and Powell 1983) and resource dependence theory (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978), which are both proven organisational theories that help to understand organisational behaviour. Both theories focus on the relationships between the organisation and its task environment. While they share assumptions about how organisations face institutional pressure, they provide different perspectives on organisational stability, conformity and change. The combination of both theories, therefore, allows for more comprehensive understanding and better awareness of the repertoire of possible organisational responses (Sherer and Lee 2002). In order to go a step further and understand the internal dynamics (micro level) behind the responses, it is important to ‘open the black box’ and deconstruct the organisation as a single, tightly integrated entity. The analysis is, therefore, complemented by the use of Greenwood *et al.*’s (2011, p.324) analytical framework on “Institutional Complexity and Organisational Responses”, which uses organisational attributes (e.g. ownership, governance, identity) that act as interpretation

filters, influencing how organisations experience institutional complexity and navigate the repertoire of available responses (Greenwood et al. 2011).

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The introduction of the thesis (Chapter 1) is followed by the literature review (Chapter 2), introducing the relevant theories, models and frameworks. The chapter also aims to position the thesis within the relevant body of literature, pointing out key debates and arguments that have received little attention from researchers. Chapter 3 focuses on the description of the research design, the research methodology, the case selection as well as the data collection and the data analysis. Ethical considerations, such as protecting study participants from negative consequences (ensuring consent and confidentiality) and avoiding bias, are also covered. Chapter 4 addresses the broad terminology that has developed around LLL. Chapter 5 provides the necessary background information on the theme of continuing education and lifelong learning. Understanding the development of the EU lifelong learning policy discourse and drawing a picture of the continuing education landscape in Switzerland requires the study to take path dependencies into account. Chapter 6 focuses on research findings on the field-specific institutional pressures (sources, meanings and degrees) to engage in LLL and how these pressures are interpreted at the meso and micro-level of the organisation. The section is followed by a description of the array of strategic and structural responses and how these are influenced by organisational filters. Finally, an exploration of implications for managerial LLL practice, specifically focusing on barriers and enablers for HEIs to become lifelong learning universities is provided. Chapter 7 discusses the empirical results and provides answers to the research questions. The discussion involves the presentation of relevant patterns, principles and relationships from the findings – including unexpected results – and links them to relevant theories, frameworks and literature. The chapter will also reflect on theoretical implications, recommendations for further research and consequences for managerial university continuing education (UCE) practices. The final part of the thesis presents its limitations and discusses future areas of research.

1.4 Anticipated contribution to knowledge

The current thesis has three objectives: (1) Empirical: to contribute to the better understanding of how Swiss universities experience and respond to the institutional pressure of engaging in lifelong learning against the backdrop of insecurities and different institutional pressures leading to

discrepancies between words, decisions and actions. (2) Theoretical: to reflect on the theoretical implications of the results as to the theories, models and frameworks guiding the analysis and offer recommendations for future research. And last but not least, (3) managerial: providing advice for the future practice of university lifelong learning. The contribution shall discuss managerial implications and provide recommendations for the HEIs that want to fully embrace lifelong learning as part of their third mission.

2 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The scope of this chapter is to introduce the theories, models and frameworks relevant to the thesis by summarising, evaluating and comparing original research. The chapter first describes the literature review process, which is then followed by the positioning of the research project within the relevant literature. It provides a constructive analysis of the methodologies and approaches of other researchers and also identifies inconsistencies, 'blind spots' and key debates. This series of connected arguments will lead to the presentation of the research questions at the end of the chapter.

Despite the rising interest in institutional complexity (Oliver 1991; Goodrick and Salancik 1996; Seo and Creed 2002; Scott 2008; Kraatz and Block 2008; Scott 2013b) and – although to a far lesser extent – the resulting organisational responses (Friedland and Alford 1991; Seo and Creed 2002; Beckert 1999; Peng and Heath 1996; Peng 2003; Abernethy and Chua 1996), there is still limited knowledge on how conflicting institutional pressures are perceived by organisations. More specifically, the dynamics inside organisations have been all but neglected (Greenwood *et al.* 2014; Dacin *et al.* 2002; Kim *et al.* 2007; Pache and Santos 2010). The situation results from most existing studies dealing with organisations as one single actor without taking into account intra-organisational dynamics such as filtering and resolving conflicting institutional demands (Greenwood and Hinings 1996; Greenwood *et al.* 2011). Social scientists broadly agree that organisations interact with their environment to achieve their primary objectives ('open system perspective'). They depend on their environment for legitimacy and critical resources and are subject to external, sometimes competing or conflicting, pressures. There is general agreement that the responses to these external pressures are hardly ever the result of a rational decision-making process (March and Simon 1992; Simon 1979; Mintzberg *et al.* 1998). More often than not, it is in stark contrast with the idea of efficiency or rationality resulting in a 'muddling through' (Lindblom 1959), that is influenced by a broad range of external, organisational and intra-organisational structures, processes and dynamics (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). These range from dependency on resources and legitimacy (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; DiMaggio and Powell 1983), power constructs (Pfeffer 2003), governance, organisational identity and culture (Ravasi and Schultz 2006; Gioia *et al.* 2000; Fumasoli *et al.* 2014; Weick and Quinn 1999; Ravasi 2016) to processes, such as sensemaking (Weick 1995), communication (Ocasio *et al.* 2015), boundary spanning (Aldrich and Herker 1977) and social interaction (Fenton and Langley 2011).

As this study analyses the response of HEIs to environmental change, focusing on organisational behaviour, it draws on organisational theory. Greenwood and Miller (2010) make a case for jointly applying mature theories, drawing attention to the fact that combining different theoretical lenses can be useful. In order to unlock the complex organisational setting, the analysis combines neo-institutional (Zucker 1977; Meyer and Rowan 1977a; DiMaggio and Powell 1983) and resource dependence theory (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978), two mature theories, when combined allow for a better understanding of field-specific dynamics (macro level) and material conditions (meso level). Both theories focus on the relationships between the organisation and its task environment. While they share assumptions about how organisations face institutional pressure, they provide different perspectives on organisational stability, conformity and change. The combination of both theories, therefore, allows for more comprehensive understanding and better awareness of the repertoire of possible organisational responses (Sherer and Lee 2002).

In order to go a step further and understand the internal dynamics (micro level) behind the responses, Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011, p.324) analytical framework on "Institutional Complexity and Organisational Responses" complemented the analysis. The model helps to integrate the field-level mechanisms and organisational attributes that influence how organisations respond to institutional pressure (e.g. organisational identity, field position, ownership, governance structure, funding sources, organisational identity, and organisational structure) into the analysis. The organisational attributes – sometimes referred to as organisational filters – are relatively stable characteristics and repeated patterns of behaviour that play an essential role in determining an organisation's response to institutional complexity. They act as interpretation filters and reflect the power balance that can favour one logic over another (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011; Pache & Santos, 2010).

2.2 Literature review process

The review of existing literature is a critical feature in any research project (Webster and Watson 2002). It builds a solid foundation to advance knowledge by mapping out the landscape, describing key concepts and relevant research, pointing out research gaps and delineating the boundaries of the work. To ensure an adequate, concept-centric literature review, Levy and Ellis' (2006) framework suggests a comprehensive data processing approach divided into three stages: (1) inputs: literature gathering and screening; in order to ensure the appropriate breadth and depth of the literature

review (the researcher used the backward and forward search approach suggested by Webster and Watson (2002)); (2) processing; and (3) outputs (writing the literature review).

The researcher has attempted to review key publications linked to institutional theory, resource dependency, conflicting institutional demands, sensemaking, boundary spanning, strategizing, policy implementation and continuing education (EU and Switzerland) with particular attention to higher education research.

By comparing the results with converging and diverging concepts and theories, the author hopes to have positioned the study within the existing landscape and succeeded in presenting a debate offering a "[...] deeper insight into both the emergent theory and the conflicting literature, as well as [a] sharpening of the limits to generalisability of the focal research" (Eisenhardt 1989, p.544).

2.3 Theories of unlocking organisational responses to institutional pressure

The study of organisations and the environment in which they are embedded goes back to the late 19th century. One of the most prominent contributors was the German scientist Max Weber (1864 – 1920). His work on the organisational bureaucracy of society and institutionalisation produced through the means of the iron cage[2] (also referred to as 'old' institutionalism) influenced social theory and research at least until the post-World War II period. However, by the 1970s an inquiry that was limited to 'the institution' was dismissed as too narrow. The opinion that organisations were rational actors that responded to economic pressures following resources was increasingly challenged. As a result, the late 1970s turned out to be a dynamic phase for organisational theory resulting in the proliferation of several influential macro-sociological frameworks built on open-system perspectives (Katz and Kahn 1966).

2.3.1 Neo-institutional theory

With their influential paper *Institutionalized Organisations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony*, Meyer and Rowan (1977a) offer a revised formulation of institutionalism (Weber 1930). The pair argued that in addition to economic pressures, organisations are also embedded in a social

[2] The original German text reads 'stahlhartes Gehäuse', which Talcott Parson translated into 'iron cage' in his 1930 translation of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber 1930) . The translation of 'Gehäuse' into 'cage' is being questioned by some sociologists (Baehr 2001) who have suggested that it might be more accurate to use "shell as hard as steel" instead.

environment and that most of the behaviour of organisations happens as a reply to social pressures resulting from the symbolic environment produced by the field, i.e. competing organisations in the own sector (referred to as 'neo-' (or 'new') institutional theory). In the following decades, neo-institutionalism gained significant popularity as it was considered able to explain organisational dynamics that resist rational economic explanations. Researchers have since focused on how organisations comply with regulatory, normative and mimetic pressures in order to ensure legitimacy and support (e.g. Dimaggio & Powell 1983; Zucker 1977; Oliver 1991). Tolbert and Zucker (1983) highlight how organisations often make strategic decisions that are not linked to improving outcomes although they claim economic rationality, but are aimed at ensuring legitimacy (rather than efficiency) within their field in order to safeguard their access to resources.

Based on the concept of rational myths and diffusion, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) also argue that the institutional field becomes more structured over time. In brief, organisations within the field tend to converge in processes and structure – they become more similar. The process is called 'isomorphism'. The two authors define three processes of isomorphic change. (a) *Coercive isomorphism* is influenced by two forces: pressures deriving from other entities on which the specific organisation depends (e.g. legal compliance); and social pressures to deliver on societal expectations. (b) *Normative isomorphism* is seen in the context of professionalisation, involving two processes: professionals interact within their professional networks (e.g. associations) which helps ideas and norms to diffuse; a similar socialisation and diffusion process happens in each profession through its specific education and training. (c) And in contrast, there is *mimetic isomorphism*, which often occurs in response to uncertainty, i.e. in case there is not a clear course of action, organisational leaders often mimic similar organisations they perceive as (more) successful.

However, Mizruchi and Fein (1999) provide evidence that DiMaggio and Powell's article *The iron cage revisited* (1983) has been applied selectively with most scholars focusing on mimetic pressures, which has resulted in an unbalanced picture of institutional theory.

> Our point is that DiMaggio and Powell's (D&P) article speaks to resource dependence, network theory, and, as several of the articles we have examined demonstrate, the population ecology model as well as institutional theory and that institutional theory itself is applicable to issues of power, coercion, and diffusion via networks. Yet users of D&P, one of the key works associated with institutional theory, have, in the major journals, underemphasized these elements of the argument. The D&P argument has, at least among some researchers, become an institutionalised myth, a story about mimetic isomorphism. (Mizruchi and Fein 1999, p.679)

It can be summarised that neo-institutionalism is an inter-disciplinary theoretical perspective that borrows ideas from other approaches to organisational analysis and can interconnect the different levels – macro, meso and to a certain extent micro. Yet, little attention is paid to intra-organisational processes, such as the issues of power and interests of people who work within the organisation. DiMaggio and Powell's interest in (a) *organisational choice and actions* that are limited by external pressures and demands, and (b) *organisations' responsiveness* to obtain resources from its environment overlap with Pfeffer and Salancik's (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978) resource dependency.

2.3.2 Resource dependence theory

Resource dependence theory (RDT) (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978) was developed at approximatively the same time as neo-institutionalism and supports a view of organisations as being embedded in networks of social relationships and interdependencies, i.e. an organisation's external environment is composed of other organisations which each have their own agendas and interests. Resource dependency covers three macro themes:

(a) *Interdependencies and social relationships*: the dependency on resources (financial, physical, information) that need to be obtained from the environment results in interdependencies. The dependencies are often mutual and indirect.

(b) *Manoeuvring for advantages*: although organisations are constrained by their external environments, they develop strategies to reduce restrictions (e.g. co-opting (Selznick 1949)) and gain more autonomy – even if only temporarily – to pursue their own organisational interests. However, as organisations try to influence their environments, the interdependences change, and new constraints emerge, which again need to be negotiated. In his introduction to the Classical Edition of *The External Control of Organisations*, Pfeffer (2003, p.xii) states that "the image is one of dynamic interaction and evolution of organisations, environments, and inter-organisational relations over time as the various social actors manoeuvre for advantage".

(c) *Construct of power*: Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) claim that the construct of power interrelates with (inter)dependencies and is critical for understanding both inter- and intra-organisational behaviour, a concept that is in stark contrast with the idea of efficiency or rationality.

Pfeffer and Salancik's position is that organisations survive if they are effective and that their effectiveness derives from the management of demands, particularly of the entities upon which they depend for resources. As opposed to neo-independency theory (NIT), RDT puts less emphasis on an organisation's social rules, expectations, norms, and values as the sources of pressures to conform.

RDT is an attempt to explain the patterns of transactions and exchanges for obtaining resources and support which form its core –the characterisation of the theory as 'resource dependence'. The more others rely on an organisation for resources, the more powerful it becomes. Power concentrates with the actors (Crozier and Friedberg 1980) who have control over the uncertainties linked to the environment (e.g. resources, mission), which is obtained through relationships, micro-level arrangements and sharing of information inside the organisation (Bleiklie *et al.* 2015) of the environment and the tasks linked. And as organisations try to gain resources, they can influence their environment which might change the patterns of interdependence and consequently entail new constraints.

2.3.3 Combining neo-institutional theory and resource dependence theory

There have been different attempts to integrate NIT and RDT to analyse how organisations respond to external demands, most notably by Oliver (1991) – and in the field of higher education by Zomer, Jongbloed and Enders (2010), Gornitzka (2006) and Coles (2004). The two theories put emphasis on the relationship between an organisation and its environment and share assumptions about how organisations face pressures and may depend on, or be impacted by, the environment in which they operate. But NIT and RDT take different stances in circumstances of uncertainty, a situation that has become more common over the past two decades in which organisations are confronted with competing demands. The neo-institutional perspective demands organisations to conform to the rules and social norms of what is considered acceptable behaviour, often copying those organisations that they perceive to be more successful. The advantages of complying are mostly self-serving (Oliver 1991) as they result in increased legitimacy and resource access. In contrast, following the resource dependency perspective, organisations try to influence their environment to achieve some degree of power. RDT thus focuses more on organisations developing strategies to control interdependencies and confront new situations. However, to combine NIT and RDT, it is important to first identify the similarities of the two theories taking into account that they differ in the explanation and the predictions as to organisational responsiveness to demands and constraints from other actors. Table 1 (below) – adapted from Oliver (1991, p.147) provides a brief overview of the convergent and divergent foci of NIT and RDT. The table is followed by a more in-depth explication of the common and diverging stances of both theories, which results in a rich repertoire of explanations as to organisational behaviour at macro, meso and micro level.

Table 1: Comparison of new institutional and resource dependence perspectives adapted from Oliver (1991, p.147)

	Convergent assumptions	**Divergent foci**	
		New institutional theory	**Resource dependence theory**
External environment	External organisational environments are shared and interconnected	- Adherence to collective rules, norms and believes - Invisible pressures	- Coping with interdependencies - Visible pressures
Decisions and organisational choice	Organisational choice is constrained by multiple external pressures	- Conformity with institutional environment rather than activeness - Focus on non-choice behaviour	- Agency is deployed to tackle external interdependencies and resource flows - Focus on active choice behaviour
Legitimacy and resources	Dependency on external environment for long-term survival	- Gaining and maintaining legitimacy through appropriate behaviour - Conformity to external criteria	- Establishing relationships with external actors and securing tangible or non-tangible resources. - Control of external criteria and resource mobilisation
Uncertainty, stability and change	Organisations seek stability and predictability	- Focus on persistence in core activities - In situations of uncertainty, organisations imitate others perceived as more successful	- Focus on reduction of uncertainty - In situations of uncertainty, organisations try to influence their environment to achieve some power and control
Organisational survival and conflicting demands	Organisations are interest-driven, and survival depends on responsiveness to external demands and expectations	- Interests are institutionally defined - Compliance is self-serving - Conflicting demands are connected with broad meaning systems	- Interests are political and calculative - Non-compliance is self-serving - Environmental complexity varies around different issues and decisions

2.3.3.1 External environment: interconnectedness, boundary spanning and diffusion of norms

Both institutional and resource dependence theory are consistent in that external organisational environments are shared and interconnected and that organisational choice is limited due to external pressures (Friedland and Alford 1991; Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Meyer and Rowan 1977a). Interconnectedness refers to the thickness of inter-organisational relationships between different actors in an organisational field. Moreover, both theories NIT and RDT suggest that multiple (conflicting) pressures tend to increase uncertainty (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Oliver (1991) argues that organisations are more likely to comply with external demands when such demands are interconnected with the environment. The scholar finds that high

interconnectedness results in channels and boundary spanning which allow for institutional norms to be diffused, resulting in more coordination and consent on norms and greater ubiquity of institutional effects. In NIT, the organisational field is a critical dimension. Considering that organisations are increasingly members of a global network, field dynamics must be taken into account as organisations progressively adopt behaviours and processes that provide legitimacy within that field (Hessels and Terjesen 2010). Resource dependence theory, in contrast, emphasises the necessity to proactively manage environmental uncertainty by tackling problematic interdependencies and resource flows (task environment). RDT also claims that environmental complexity may vary systematically around different decisions (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). The point highlights the need for institutional researchers to avoid connecting conflicting demands with broad meaning systems (institutional logics) without being specific about why, how, or to which extent they result in complexity at the organisational level (Wry, Cobb, *et al.* 2013). In addition, by starting with issues and then defining the diverse stakeholder groups and their invested interests, power bases, and the connections between them, resource dependence theory helps to document the locus of complexity. It helps to avoid throwing together organisation-specific (Kraatz and Block 2008), cross-industry, and hierarchical complexity (Thornton *et al.* 2012, p.173; Greenwood and Miller 2010). In short, combining NIT and RDT allows for a more complete mapping of environmental complexity.

2.3.3.2 Decisions and organisational choice: conformity vs agency

The neo-institutional and the resource dependence perspectives each assume that organisational choice is limited by external constraints. However, neo-institutionalists focus on “conformity,” “passivity”, and “pre-conscious acceptance” whereas RDT explains in terms of “resistance”, “activeness,” and “political manipulation” (Oliver 1991, p.147). In responding to external demands and constraints, the two frameworks take different stances as to the degrees of activeness, resistance and self-interested behaviour organisations deploy to tackle external constraints. RDT is concerned with the agency that can be deployed (active choice behaviour) to manage external interdependencies and resource flows (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). In comparison, NIT depicts structural and procedural conformity, i.e. decisions are taken more based on what is legitimate within the institutional environment (field) and less based on technical or economic criteria. In a context of taken-for-granted norms, institutional theory can provide explanations for nonchoice behaviour:

> Organisations are predicted to conform to institutionalised believes or practices when these beliefs or practices are so externally validated and accepted by organisations as to be invisible to the actors they influence (Paul J. DiMaggio 1988), or when their "social fact" quality renders them the only conceivable, "obvious", or "natural" way to conduct an organisational activity (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Zucker 1977; Zucker 1987). (Oliver 1991, p.148)

2.3.3.3 Legitimacy and resources: non-choice vs context shaping

In resource dependency theory, organisational action is directed towards the ability to establish relationships with external actors (e.g. ministries, industry, research council, etc.) and secure tangible or non-tangible resources. As resources are scarce, multiple organisations are inevitably competing for the same ones. Whereas NIT presumes that organisations operate within a social framework of norms and that the primary concern of organisations is to gain or maintain legitimacy through appropriate behaviour in an environment dominated by rules. Oliver (1991) classifies behaviour from the neo-institutional perspective as non-choice. In contrast, Meyer and Rowan (1977a, p.348) see organisations as doing more stating they: "often play active roles in shaping those contexts". Legitimacy pressures are intertwined with resource exigencies and boundary-spanning relationships that implicate asymmetric inter-organisational dependencies. While the connection is touched upon in literature, it is often neglected in empirical research (Cole 2004).

2.3.3.4 Uncertainty, stability and change: imitation vs innovation

RDT and NIT each argue that organisations seek stability; however, the two theories take a different angle on the way organisations respond to uncertainty. Resource dependency argues that organisations try to influence the environment to achieve a degree of control, whereas in NIT, organisations imitate structures and activities – often of those organisations that they perceive as more successful. So, while one sees organisations as attempting to empower, the other see acts of replication. It is important to consider that over the past two decades, enduring complexity and competing demands have increased institutional uncertainty. As to organisational change, RDT proposes that resource scarcities force organisations to pursue innovations that use alternatives (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978; Sherer and Lee 2002), whereas NIT claims that a changing institutional environment does not necessarily lead to changes in the organisation (Tolbert and Zucker 1983).

2.3.3.5 Conformity versus noncompliance and influencing

The institutional perspective sees organisations conforming to rules of what is considered acceptable behaviour. The advantages of complying are self-serving as they result in increased

legitimacy, prestige, internal and external commitment, resource access, increased attractiveness as an employer and invulnerability to questioning (Oliver 1991). Whereas RDT focuses on the advantages of noncompliance: organisations do more than respond to external constraints by complying, they develop strategies to influence the situation they are confronted with, i.e. they lobby to gain manoeuvring space. From a resource dependence perspective, the advantage of this 'non-compliance approach' is the ability to retain discretion over decision making and the flexibility to adapt as new exigencies surface. Relative to RDT, neo-institutionalism has leaned towards downplaying the ability of organisations to resist and challenge external demands.

2.4 Institutional complexity: the origin, meaning and degree of institutional pressure

In order to understand how organisations, respond to competing institutional demands, it is necessary to identify the origin of such pressures. Pache and Santos (2010) argue that more fragmented fields, i.e. those with an elevated quantity of actors on which an organisation depends, are more likely to have competing institutional demands. In a highly fragmented field, such as higher education, organisations rely on and must be responsive to a wide range of constituents at the regional, national and international level. Specifically, in the case of Switzerland these would include municipalities, cantonal government, the national government, the EU, students, researchers, community, quality and accreditation agencies, industry as well as media amongst others. Institutional influences are also carried over through broader cultural templates – so-called 'institutional logics'[3] (Thornton and Ocasio 2008), which are belief systems (e.g. state, family, market, academia) that influence the perception and behaviour of actors (Friedland and Alford 1991; Lounsbury 2007). The existence of multiple players with different logics, i.e. what they see as legitimate and effective behaviour, increases the risk of competing expectations and priorities. Pache and Santos (2010) further propose that the more skilled the constituents are in enforcing demands, the higher the probability that the demands will be imposed. Powerful actors include regulatory bodies that compel organisations to act in a specific way through the threat of legal sanction, funding agencies who dominate through the dependence relationships as well as professional organisations that shape behaviours through normative socialisation.

[3] Thornton and Ocasio (1999, p.804) describe institutional logics as "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality". Focusing on macro-societal phenomena, Friedland and Alford (1991, p.232) acknoledged five central institutions, each of which is guided by a specific institutional logic: the capitalist market, the bureaucratic state, the democracy, the nuclear family and Christianity. Thornton (2004) amended her scheme to include six institutional orders: the market, the corporation, the professions, the state, the family, and religions. Recently, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) have included community as an additional key logic.

2.4.1 The organisational environment: the field and competing (or even conflicting) demands

There are three major variants of field theory in the social sciences: (1) the social-psychological perspective associated with the psychologist Kurt Lewin (1939), (2) the stratification and domination emphasis linked to Pierre Bourdieu (1983), and (3) the inter-organisational relations institutionalism associated with DiMaggio and Powell (1983). The latter draws upon Bourdieu. The French sociologist understood the social world as being divided into a variety of distinct 'fields' of practice such as law, art, education, each with their own unique set of rules, knowledge and forms of capital. While fields can overlap (e.g. education and religion overlap in many confessional schools), Bourdieu saw each as being relatively autonomous from one-another. Each field has its own set of practices, as well as its struggles for position as people mobilise their capital to stake claims within a social domain. In neo-institutional theory, the field of the organisation has become an important entity (Dacin *et al.* 2008). The field influences which organisational actions and structures are socially acceptable. DiMaggio and Powell (1983, p.148) describe the institutional field as those organisations which cumulatively form a recognised sphere of institutional life: product consumers, key suppliers and regulatory agencies as well as other organisations that provide similar products or services. In their view, the field represents the sum of relevant actors, i.e. a group of organisations sharing a value system and who interact more often among each other than with others from outside the field. Scott and Davis (2006, p.117) summarise the idea describing the field as "a system of organisations that are related and share cultural rules and meaning systems". Organisational fields become defined through structuration (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) which is the result of interactions between organisations in the field. The structuration leads to the creation of intra-organisational structures of control and coalitions, a growing amount of information about the organisations in the field as well as increased awareness of field participants involved in the same enterprise. The coexistence of several institutional logics in an organisational field can result in inconsistent expectations and create competing institutional demands increasing the complexity that organisations are exposed to (Jarzabkowski *et al.* 2013). The argument has attracted increasing interest from neo-institutional scholars as a means of counterbalancing the strong focus on homogeneity (Thornton *et al.* 2012; Battilana and Dorado 2010; Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Seo and Creed 2002) and endogenous institutional change, rather than from exogenous social, regulatory or technological shocks (Paula Jarzabkowski *et al.* 2013). In short, institutional contradictions can trigger endogenous change, as they heighten actors'

awareness for alternative and more favourable solutions to their, taken-for-granted, institutionalised patterns of behaviour (e.g. Thornton *et al.* 2005; Djelic and Quack 2007).

2.4.1.1 Maturity and emergence of new fields

Mature fields have developed regularised inter-organisational relationships over time. In other words, not only do the players show recognisable patterns of interaction, but the field has also developed institutional infrastructure such as professional associations, social control agents (e.g. international, national and local governments), infomediaries (e.g. media consultants), tournament rituals (e.g. award ceremonies) and mechanisms of enforcement (e.g. loss of accreditation). Tensions between competing logics can be understood at field level, and institutional complexity seems to be stable as implications of logics have been made clear and integrated into regularised practices. Emerging fields, in contrast, are typically characterised by contrasting logics and permeable boundaries, allowing external players to easily enter the field negatively impacting the balancing of interests and power. The situation may lead to a highly fragmented field with several institutional logics separately represented by uncoordinated organisations. The lack of predictable institutional demands can result in a high degree of institutional complexity. The degree of maturity can be deducted from parameters such as the extent of centralisation or fragmentation (Meyer *et al.* 1986), the amount of uncoordinated stakeholders on which an organisation depends, for material resources and legitimacy, as well as the degree of formalisation (formally organized constituents – as opposed to environments with less organized groups). In short, mature fields are more established, institutional complexity at the organisational level will therefore be reduced due to the fact that conflicts between different logics are settled at the field level (Purdy and Gray 2009; for a review see Wooten and Hoffman 2008). Noteworthily, mature fields can comprise multiple logics and be stable providing the relationship between them is well established (Greenwood *et al.* 2011).

2.4.1.2 Centralisation, formalisation and fragmentation

The more centralised the field is, the higher the unification and the smaller the degree of institutional complexity, as competing or conflicting demands are solved at a higher level by negotiating between field-level players and/or by ‚important actors requiring compliance. If there is a lack of centralised actors, complexity increases. However, low formalisation also provides for more organisational discretion as informally organised pressures might be less intense than when originating from more coordinated and formalised stakeholder groups. On the other hand, more formalisation often allows for more specific demands which gives an organisation the possibility to

better elaborate its response. However, there is still little empirical data on how field-level formalisation influences an organisation's experiences of institutional complexity (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). A field might dispose of multiple nodes of centralised authority (as opposed to more or less centralised), as argued by Greenwood *et al.* (2011), such as in the case of universities which face pressures from organised institutional stakeholders, including the government (providing financial resources), the professional community (supplying legitimacy and hires graduates), professional associations (including academia), accreditation and ranking bodies (providing endorsement). Each of these constituents might – or might not – be organised and centralised in their own sphere. In other words, fields can contain several nodes of centralisation. In Meyer and Scott's (1983) view, there can be 'fragmented centralisation'. Another of Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011, p.338) concern is that Pache and Santos' model fails to take into account that different stakeholders or authorities use different enforcement techniques which can range from coercive power (governmental players) to the more normative power of professional associations and accreditation agencies.

2.4.1.3 Position in the field

An organisation's position inside a field also has an impact on the intensity and form of complexity that it will be exposed to (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Scott 2013a). Embedded, central organisations might be more subject to tensions from multiple demands compared to less embedded, peripheral organisations. Organisational characteristics (e.g. governance, ownership, structure or identity) can expose the entity to more pressures than others. Some high-status organisations with above-average visibility may be targeted by stakeholders in order to advance their demands, while other organisations in the periphery might be less exposed and less scrutinised.

2.4.1.4 The field in higher education

The institutional field perspective helps to understand how a focal HEI is embedded in a complex network of hierarchical power relations competing for legitimacy and resources (Naidoo 2004; Enders 2016b). The 'university' co-exists with other organisations, such as partner institutions, competitors, regulatory agencies, students, researchers, key suppliers, within the same intuitional framework. Regulations, normative rules and cognitive belief systems are the 'glue' that holds the field together and produces social structures that provide stability (Scott 2013b; Jepperson 1991). However, defining the field of higher education has been becoming more complex (Stensaker *et al.* 2014). The governance of higher education has evolved from a national topic into a multi-level and multi-actor affair (e.g. for shaping standards and interests), and regulatory decentralisation and

marketisation (the list is not exhaustive) have led to an increase in complexity. Boundaries have become more permeable, and universities are being pushed into the direction of hybrid organisations mixing beliefs and institutional logics (Enders 2016b). Frølich *et al.* (2013) suggest that higher education is an organisational field (or set of organisational fields) where the state (represented by regulatory agencies) plays a crucial role in setting the rules of the game as to the overall roles and structure of the organisations. They claim that the state holds an important role in deciding whether the field should be deconstructed into ‘‘sub-fields’’, offering templates, models and identities – and therefore the pressure that might lead HEIs to adopt these.

2.4.2 From temporary to lasting institutional complexity

Until recently, institutional scholars tended to see institutional complexity as transitional, i.e. organisations would somehow deal with the new demands placed on them and then go back to ‘business as usual’. More recently, institutional theorists have come to recognise that in an increasingly interconnected, fast-moving environment, institutional complexity may be permanent (Smets and Jarzabkowski 2013; Greenwood et al. 2011). The situation may especially apply to those organisations which, by their nature, are ‘an incarnation or embodiment of multiple logics’ (Kraatz and Block 2008, p.244). Organisations in higher education, the health sector, non-profit and social organisations are particularly prone to facing pluralistic demands and enduring institutional complexity (Pache and Santos 2010).

Recent thinking among organisational scholars has therefore shifted its focus from conflicting demands and temporary institutional complexity to the “co-existence of logics” and “lasting complexity with relative incoherence” (Greenwood *et al.* 2011, p.323). The latest research is increasingly focussed on how organisations experience multiple pressures in terms of (a) organisational motivations (e.g. resource dependency argument, coerciveness, normative pressure); (b) organisational attributes that might impact organisational decisions (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Pache 2010; Oliver 1991); and (c) the role of agency (at macro and micro level).

2.4.3 Boundary spanning, sensemaking and strategizing

Environmental scanning, sensemaking, sensegiving, strategy formulation and issues selling (Narayanan *et al.* 2011) are portrayed as complex processes. As part of an open system, an organisation interacts with and is influenced by, the changing world that surrounds it. It is also interrelated with its stakeholders on whom it depends for resources and legitimacy, i.e. these

constituents can put pressure on the institution to conform to specific demands. Institutional pressure can be exerted in many ways – it can be diffuse or quite direct, but most importantly, the organisation must receive these signals before it can understand and interpret them and eventually decide on action or non-action. To make sense of how organisations respond to institutional demands, it is important to understand (a) how institutional pressures are identified, (b) which way they penetrate organisational boundaries and (c) how they are experienced and made sense of by the organisation. Boundary spanning (Aldrich and Herker 1977), environmental scanning (Thomas *et al.* 1993), sensemaking (Weick 1995) and representation (internal and external) are key elements of the strategizing process.

2.4.3.1 Boundary spanning

It is uncertain how institutional demands penetrate organisational boundaries. One question is the role of organisational actors who operate at the periphery of their organisation and facilitate information exchange between the organisation and its task environment. Such actors are called 'boundary spanners' (Aldrich and Herker 1977) – they link organisational structure to their environment. Boundary spanning is achieved through information-processing or transmitting involving filtering, facilitation and a gatekeeper function which includes resource acquisition and securing political or social legitimacy. Due to their access to information and control over its interpretation and dissemination, as well as their critical role in managing environmental dependencies, boundary spanners can be powerful inside the organisation (Gioia and Chittipeddi 1991; Katz and Kahn 1966; Freeman 1994; Aldrich and Herker 1977). They are powerful because they act as a bridge between the inside and the outside, and between the macro and micro level, but – although their understanding of and receptivity to institutional pressures will vary – they are carriers and bring their interpretations of priorities and preferable outcomes. In short, institutional pressures do not just 'enter' an organisation, but they are given meaning, interpreted and represented by internal players (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). This results in boundary spanning assuming a crucial role in an organisation's capacity to react to environmental uncertainty (Thomas *et al.* 1993). Though boundary spanning is accepted as a concept, there is little research on how it impacts organisational responses to multiple institutional demands. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) suggest analysing the position and power of boundary spanners inside the organisation. It might be that organisations isolate these boundary spanners from their external communities – this can be for a number of reasons, for instance, because of internal power dynamic or as a defence against information overload (Aldrich and Herker 1977). Also, an insufficient number of boundary

spanners (Hazy *et al.* 2003) or boundary spanners' limited access to the leadership might result in changing environmental conditions being ignored, putting the organisation's survival at risk.

2.4.3.2 Representation of internal and external demands

Pache and Santos (2010) attribute importance to the relative degree to which particular competing pressures are represented within the organisation, i.e. whether there is no, single or multiple representation for a theme inside the organisation. They argue that environmental contingency factors determine which response strategy is chosen. Greenwood *et al*. (2011) theorise that organisational boundary spanners import and represent meanings and norms in an organisation resulting in the internal representation of their demands. As boundary spanners, they connect with or even create intra-organisational communities which are then are linked with the field level resulting in awareness and knowledge of institutional pressures. The presence of multiple intra-organisational communities representing the demands heightens an organisation's experience of institutional complexity and also influences its responses. The relationship between the intra-organisational communities and their field-level equivalents can differ, depending on whether the representation involves the organisation's leadership (e.g. CEO) or the technical core (e.g. marketing or HR) of the organisation, which tends to be more buffered from the external environment. The more internal representatives are committed to advocating matters (not just representation) – the stronger the ties, the more likely that the demand will penetrate the boundaries of the organisation. At the same, this will heighten an organisation's awareness and experience of institutional complexity, and also provide for more discretion in its possible responses. Nonetheless, the authors call for more research in this respect. (Greenwood *et al.* 2011)

Though internal representation has received some attention (Pache and Santos 2010; Pache and Santos 2013b; Pache 2010), the theme of external representation through which organisations try to influence their environment (resource dependency perspective) has been neglected. External representation is an organisation's strategy of coping with visible pressures. It establishes relationships with external actors in the field to influence its task environment and to achieve some degree of power and control with the ultimate goal to secure tangible and non-tangible resources which will reduce uncertainty. One indicator is the representation of organisational boundary spanners on the committees and executive councils of the association (Greenwood *et al.* 2002). External representation can of course also figure under different terms such as 'public affairs' or 'lobbying'. Nonetheless, only a few researchers have touched upon the theme of public institutions

and the external representation of organisational interests in a context of organisational complexity. Pache and Santos (2010) call for the analysis of structural factors such as relationships with other organisation in the field for favouring specific responses. Nevertheless, up-to-date, there are only a few new studies, most of which cover the theme of external representation only superficially (e.g. Raaijmakers *et al.* 2015; Bohn and Walgenbach 2015; Bossard and Schedler 2015).

2.4.3.3 Boundary spanning in higher education

In the field of higher education, there have only been a few research studies have dealt with boundary spanning – for instance in the context of community engagement (Sandmann *et al.* 2014; Weerts and Sandmann 2010; Miller 2008). Dean (2008) analyses the prerequisites for members of presidential leadership teams in higher education to operate successfully as boundary-spanners. Another theme is the expansion of boundaries as a symptom of ongoing changes in higher education (Huisman and Fumasoli 2014). Moreover, both UNESCO (Altbach *et al.* 2009) and the UK Leadership Foundation for Higher Education (Bolden *et al.* 2012) have called for higher education institutions to strengthen their 'boundary-spanning' capacity. Even though HEI boundaries have become more permeable, there still seems to be limited research on the subject.

2.4.3.4 Environmental scanning

How do organisations and their boundary spanners identify institutional pressures? They use environmental scanning, i.e. they systematically identify, gather, analyse and interpret business-relevant information (e.g. political, economic and social trends, new technologies, competitors, events, relationships) that is available their external environment and integrate it into their decision-making (Albright 2004). There is general agreement that as complexity is increasing, having a full picture of what is happening in the field and beyond is vital to organisational survival. Environmental scanning comprises looking at information ('viewing') as well as looking for information ('searching') (Choo 2001), and helps organisations to prevent surprises, identify opportunities and threats, improve their planning and improve their competitive advantages (Sutton 1988). The information can be retrieved from various resources ranging from casual lunch conversations to conferences of professional associations and formal industry reports. It is commonly accepted that that environmental scanning contributes considerably to improved organisational performance. The scanning must be part of the strategic planning process and support the given organisational strategy. An important objective of scanning is to trigger the strategic discussions about strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats inside the organisation. Although

environmental scanning has become taken for granted in the business world, it has attracted little attention from higher education researchers (Gerald W. McLaughlin *et al.* 2015). The reason might be because higher education strategy has only recently moved to the attention of the research agenda (e.g. Fumasoli *et al.* 2014; Huisman and Fumasoli 2014; Stensaker *et al.* 2014; Vught and Huisman 2013; Fumasoli *et al.* 2015).

2.4.3.5 Sensemaking and sensegiving

The role of sensemaking in decision making is critical (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2014) – but it is uncertain how organisations go about processing multiple institutional demands to determine salience and subsequent responsiveness. In situations of complexity, making sense of issues that are novel and violate expectations becomes vital (Weick 1995). There is no single theory or agreed definition of sensemaking (for a full overview, see Maitlis and Christianson's (2014) article *Sensemaking in Organizations: Taking Stock and Moving Forward*). Nonetheless, as an activity central to the study of organisations, sensemaking has been the subject of extensive research over the past two decades and provides important cues as to strategic change (Gioia and Chittipeddi 1991; Gioia et al. 1994; Brown et al. 2015; Maitlis and Christianson 2014). Gioia and Chittipeddi (1991) base their framework on the interpretive approach which assumes that the sensemaking of information and events and the meaning assigned by an actor is crucial to understanding and action. With the proviso that meaning is constrained by the goals that the actor wants to achieve. Understanding and action, including strategic action, derive from the meaning attributed by the actor. They suggest differentiating 'sensemaking' and 'sensegiving'. Sensemaking is concerned with the construction of meaning by the different actors as they are trying to understand the nature of the intended change. Sensegiving, in contrast, relates to the process of influencing sensemaking and the construction of meaning of others towards a favoured organisational reality. In the authors' analysis of the process of change in a large higher education institution, they found that the sensemaking process occurs in an iterative, sequential and somewhat reciprocal manner involving top-leadership as well as other internal constituents and external stakeholders of the university. The implications for the study of strategic responses are: (a) the analysis of interpretation and meaning is important; (b) the leadership's interpretations of the phenomenon under study require a close examination (not just the researcher studying them); and (c) the organisational culture needs to be considered.

2.5 Organisational responses to institutional pressures

There are two lines of thought when it comes to analysing how organisations deal with multiple competing demands. One line seeks to understand the 'strategies' employed by organisations when confronted with these demands (Oliver 1991; Kraatz and Block 2008; Pache and Santos 2010). The other line focuses on how institutional complexity is reflected in organisational 'structures' and 'practices' (Greenwood *et al.* 2011) – with more recent work focusing on lasting institutional complexity with the emergence of 'hybrid-type' organisations (Pache and Santos 2011; Besharov and Smith 2012; Pache and Santos 2013a; Battilana and Lee 2014; Dalpiaz *et al.* 2016) or behaviour such as ambidexterity (Smets and Jarzabkowski 2013; O'Reilly and Tushman 2013; Turner et al. 2013) or institutional bricolage (Højgaard Christiansen and Lounsbury 2013; Rindova *et al.* 2011).

2.5.1 Strategies as a response to multiple competing demands

In her seminal article about *Strategic Responses to Institutional Processes,* Oliver (1991) draws attention to the fact that institutional environments are often multiple and proactive. An organisation might choose to respond to institutional pressures in line with its resource dependencies. In Oliver's model of strategic responses to institutional demands, the author integrates resource dependence arguments and institutional theory. While the model (p.160) proposes a helpful typology of responses to institutional pressures considering institutional factors[4], it limits itself to indicating that organisations have a hard time complying with expectations (which would be "acquiesce" or "compromise") and, are likely to opt for strategies that resist compliance. Such strategies can be avoidance, defiance or manipulation. But even though Oliver (1991) acknowledges that compliance with competing (or even conflicting) institutional demands is difficult and proposes a range of alternative response strategies. The author misses organisational attributes (Greenwood *et al.* 2011) and intra-organisational dynamics (Pache and Santos 2010; Kim *et al.* 2007; Lounsbury and Crumley 2007) such as filtering and resolving conflict in institutional demands (Greenwood and Hinings 1996) as she looks at the organisation as one single actor developing strategic responses.

Despite Oliver's (1991) landmark article, it has almost taken two decades for organisational scholars to turn their attention to institutional complexity and organisational responses (Pache 2010; Kraatz and Block 2008; Greenwood *et al.* 2011; P. Jarzabkowski *et al.* 2013; Purdy and Gray 2009;

[4] Oliver (1991) defines the following institutional factors: cause of pressure, constituents, content, control and context.

Kodeih and Greenwood 2014; Besharov and Smith 2014b; Frølich *et al.* 2013; Villani and Philips 2013; Heusinkveld *et al.* 2013; Enders and de Boer 2009). Kraatz and Block (2008) suggest that organisations faced with a multiplicity of institutional demands[5] may adopt one or more of four adaptation strategies in dealing with these conflicting demands: (1) eradicate the sources of these demands; (2) deal with them independently through compartmentalisation, (3) proactively attempt to balance them; or (4) create a new institutional order, i.e. find a balance between field level unity and institutional level autonomy, first at the national, but also at the transnational level (Maassen 2008).

Pache and Santos (2010) expand Oliver's (1991) model integrating the field and intra-organisational political processes into their analysis identifying with more exactness the circumstances under which response strategies to external demands might be used. The pair go beyond the dominant practice of looking at the organisation as one single, integrated unit taking univocal decisions, exploring how organisational actors experience, interpret and react to multiple and conflicting institutional expectations. Pache and Santos (2010) identify the environment in which conflicting institutional demands tend to develop and forced upon organisations. They then study how the competing institutional demands are experienced and represented inside the organisation and propose a model that predicts responses to such conflicting demands.

Table 2: A model of responses to conflicting institutional demands (Pache and Santos 2010, p.469)

Response determinants		**Likelihood of adoption**			
Nature of demands	Internal representation of demands	Compromise	Avoidance	Defiance	Manipulation
Means	Absence	High	High	Low	Low
	Single	Low	High	High	Low
	Multiple	High (balanced power)	Low	Low	High (unbalanced power)
Goals	Absence	Low	High	High	Low
	Single	Low	High	High	High
	Multiple representation of demands	Low	Low	Low	High

The framework forecasts nonlinear responses as linked to the level of resistance. It also categorises situations in which institutional conflicts can lead to dangerous outcomes, such as organisational

[5] Kraatz and Block (2008, p.243) explain institutional pluralism as a "situation faced by an organization that operates within multiple institutional spheres". That means that the organisation is exposed to several normative orders and regulatory regimes and therefore is confronted with more than one cultural logic. That means that an organisation dealing with institutional pluralisms has to play two or more games simultaneously.

paralysis or even breakup. However, Pache and Santos' (2010) model has its own limits. They argue they have not taken into account the type of pressure – i.e. whether it is mimetic, normative or coercive, which influences how and to which extent organisations can avoid or contest them (Scott 2014; Oliver 1991). The pair also calls for integrating specific organisation skills required to mobilise particular strategies and additional determinants of organisational responses such as the profile of organisational leaders, board composition, funding structures, relationships with other organisation, position in the field and an organisation prior experience. They believe that much remains to be done. However, it is also striking that their framework limits itself to the representation of the demand internally without analysing the importance of the boundary spanning role in depth, as for instance for how the external demands are transported inside the organisation and vice-versa.

2.5.2 Structures and strategies as a response to multiple competing demands

The second line of research on organisational responses focuses on how institutional complexity is reflected in the organisational structures and strategies (Greenwood et al. 2011; Smets and Jarzabkowski 2013; Pache and Santos 2011; Battilana and Lee 2014). In recent years, the focus has increasingly shifted to how organisations embrace institutional logics, competing demands, and institutional complexity in hybrid organisations.

Greenwood, Hinings and Whetten (2014) argue that research using institutional theory has focused excessively on analysis at the institutional level, rather than gaining a better understanding of how organisations are structured and managed. The researchers claim that it is often assumed that organisations are the same, which disregards differences. They call for more comparative analysis. However, Greenwood and colleagues had earlier taken a more neo-institutional stance with more focus on achieving social legitimacy (NIT), but little on how to manoeuvre for advantages (RDT), even if they mention RDT occasionally:

> Pache and Santos/Heimer approach reminds us that group interests, motivations and political skills are important. It also reminds us that institutional accounts can be usefully combined with resource dependency theory – as pioneered by Oliver (1991) […]. (Greenwood *et al.* 2011, p.349)

Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011) paper suggests going further in understanding the rationale behind an organisation's response by integrating organisational attributes (e.g. structure, processes, governance and organisational identity into the analysis). Organisational attributes – also referred to as organisational filters or structure – are stable characteristics and repeated patterns of behaviour

that influence how organisations experience institutional complexity and navigate the repertoire of responses available. Organisational identity, field position, ownership, governance structure, funding sources, organisational identity and organisational structure play an important role in determining an organisation's response to institutional complexity. The structural factors act as interpretation filters and reflect the power balance that can favour one logic over another (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011; Pache & Santos, 2010). Greenwood and colleagues propose a framework (see Figure 1 below) showing how field structure and organisational attributes impact institutional complexity and organisational responses which then lead to institutional pluralism. The framework will be key to guiding the empirical enquiry.

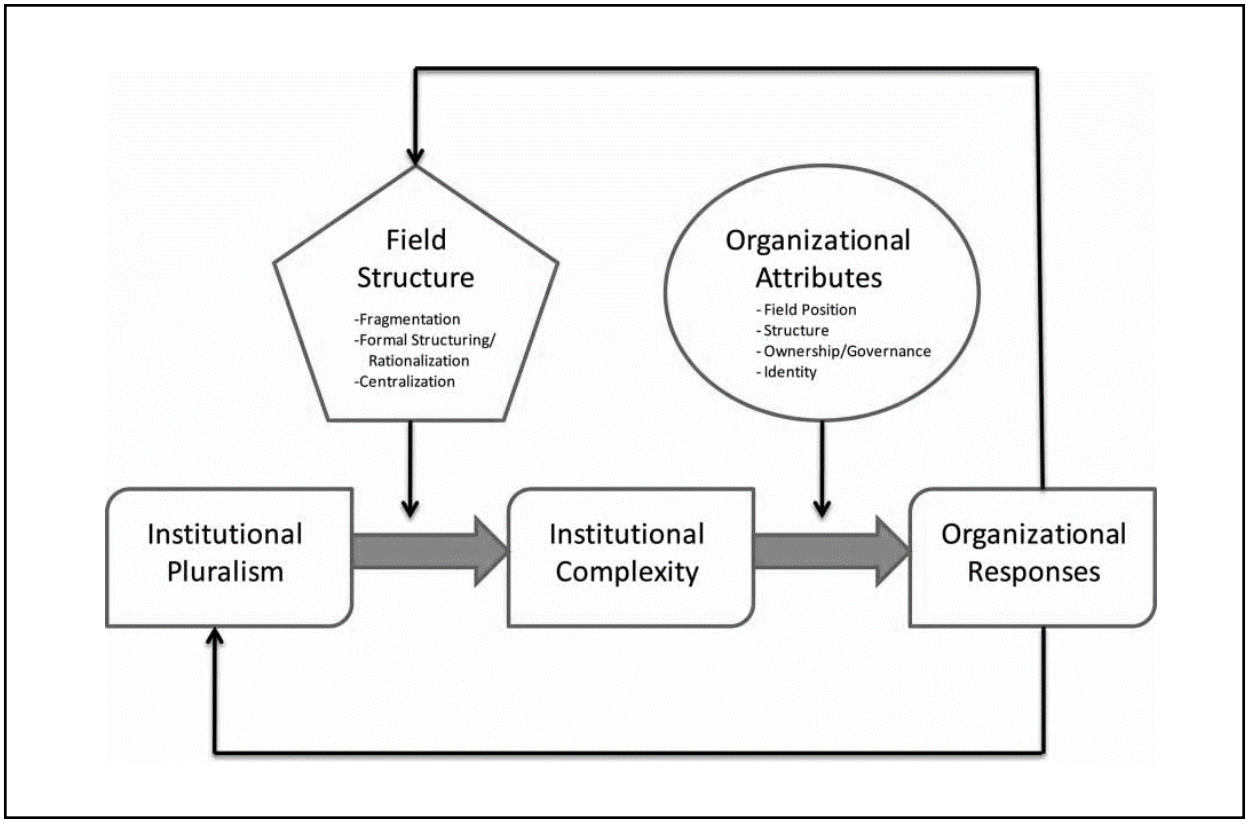


Figure 1: Institutional complexity and organisational responses adapted from Greenwood *et al.* (2011, p.324)

2.5.3 Organisational attributes as filters

2.5.3.1 Field position

The organisational environment was covered in section 2.4.1; however, the importance of field position requires special attention. In their model Greenwood *et al.* (2011), argue that field position influences how organisations experience complexity. Field position is determined by the organisation's status, size, age and location. Peripheral organisations are often less connected with

other organisations which can mean less scrutiny from stakeholders and consequently less complexity (Greenwood *et al.* 2011) as internal actors might be less aware of institutional expectations (Westphal and Zajac 2001; Greve 1998; Kraatz 1998). Though these organisations generally have a more space for discretion in reacting to complexity, they might be disadvantaged by existing arrangements (Kraatz *et al.* 1996; Leblebici *et al.* 1991) and are more likely to abandon their institutional template when faced with resource scarcity or unfavourable regulatory regimes (Aunno *et al.* 2000). Organisations which are located in the centre of the field are usually more mature benefiting from a dominant status. While large, high-status organisations can diverge from existing expectations as they tend to be under less scrutiny from regulatory agents, less high-status organisations tend to suffer from limited discretion considering that they are still more visible than peripheral players (Kot and Hendel 2012; Den Hond and Bakker 2007). As for organisations that operate across different fields (Smets and Jarzabkowski 2013), they are more likely to be exposed to contradictory logics which in turn increase institutional complexity. Morrill (2006) argues that boundary-spanning positions are likely to expose organisations to increased complexity. At the same time, proactive engagement with institutional complexity can open the possibility to break down the boundaries between different fields and logics, resulting in the organisation proactively engaging with contradictory prescriptions. The situation will result in mobilising future-oriented agency and widen the available repertoires of responses (Dalpiaz *et al.* 2016).

2.5.3.2 Organisational structures

Organisational decision-making is influenced by actors who have their own interpretations of priorities (Ocasio 1997; Chung and Luo 2008). However, institutional pressures remain outside the organisation – such pressures are represented, interpreted and given sense by actors who occupy structural positions and act as boundary-spanners. The actors represent the organisation and are carriers of institutional demands, i.e. they import respectively export norms and meanings acting as a translator between the external and internal world (Pache and Santos 2010), and their interpretations are expressions of agency (Zilber 2002). Organisational individuals active in intra-organisational communities at the field level are likely to have a heightened awareness of institutional pressures. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) argue that the presence of multiple intra-organisational communities heightens an organisations experience of institutional complexity, and also influence responses. There are four factors:

(a) Thickness of ties: the thickness of ties represents the degree to which internal representatives actively advocate matters (not just representation) in forms such as networking, participation in

conferences or training programs and active involvement in professional associations (different salience). The stronger the tie, the more likely it is that the demand will enter the organisation.
(b) Degree of influence: the degree of influence refers to the capability and motivation of social players to use their channels to enforce the demands on the organisation (Zald and Lounsbury 2010)
(c) Unitary relationship: internal communities diverge in terms of the external social influences they are exposed to. Organisational units in the 'technical core' are more protected from the external influences than boundary-spanning entities (e.g. sales), with the latter displaying more sensitivity to demands.
(d) Institutional immunity: organisational members represent and give voice to external demands. However, (Smets and Jarzabkowski 2013) revealed how some organisations insulate employees from external communities controlling the extent to which demands are voiced inside the organisation. Institutional immunity is a way of avoiding the entrance of external demands into the organisation and minimising sources of internal resistance, and a way of reducing (at least short-term) the amount of institutional complexity experienced from the environment. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) point out that contradictory prescriptions provide for more discretion in organisational responses. In short, organisational structure matters as (a) it influences how the organisation experiences complexity, and (b) it shapes the repertoire of available organisational responses. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) call for research that analysis intra-organisational groups and the ties they have with field-level equivalents. However, neither Greenwood *et al.* (2011) nor Pache and Santos (2010) take into consideration, that organisations can also manoeuvre for advantages through public affairs activities.

Decoupling strategies, considered to be a coping mechanism that is used by organisations to navigate institutional complexity (e.g. Crilly *et al.* 2012; Boxenbaum and Jonsson 2008; Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Pache and Santos 2013b; Lok 2010), have also attracted researchers' attention. Decoupling happens when organisations decide to implement a programme while failing to implement expected practices that would go along with it. The stratagem is frequently deployed by organisations as a way of reconciling conflicting institutional demands (Meyer and Rowan 1977a). Moreover, decoupling is often used when organisations try to "avoid" conforming to institutional pressures by covering up "nonconformity behind a façade of acquiescence" (Oliver 1991, p.154). The concept explains how organisations deal with conflicting demands, especially when they are imposed by important constituents that control material and/or symbolic resources critical for the organisation's operations and survival (e.g. Pache and Santos 2010; Durand and

Jourdan 2012; Raaijmakers *et al.* 2015). Though decoupling offers insights into how organisations might respond when exposed to institutional complexity, they might not always be deliberate or strategic (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). Misangyi (2016, p.2) argues that "decoupling in complex institutional environments has remained elusive" especially as several logics imply different intentions (Thornton *et al.* 2012), and it is unclear which motivations lead to decoupling. Though there is evidence that decoupling can be used as a conscious socio-political ploy when confronted with competing logics, researchers have also demonstrated that decoupling can be non-intentional, can serve as a well-meant buffering mechanism, and can be motivated by one's ideology or profession (e.g. Fiss and Zajac 2006; Westphal and Zajac 2001; Tilcsik 2010).

2.5.3.3 Ownership and governance

When it comes to organisational decisions, the degree of influence that a single person or group has within an organisation plays an important role as some actors are more powerful than others. When faced with competing demands, decisions reflect the existing power structure. In other words, the more influential actors are, the more likely it is that they will determine organisational responses that in line with their interests. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) have pinpointed two approaches between power and institutional complexity. The first approach focuses on ownership (Goodrick and Salancik 1996): in the case of no ambiguity, ownership has no influence. However, under conditions of ambiguity, the dominant logic is given more importance. In his research on HEIs responding to environmental activists, Lounsbury (2001) demonstrates the indirect effect of ownership. Public Universities discreetly align their responses to the government's preference whom they depend on for funding. Generalising, the dependence on institutional actors influences an organisation's response to institutional complexity. The interdependencies offer 'channels' through which normative influences cross the organisational boundary and might be diffused inside the organisation. Internal actors will calculate the risk of non-attention and shape the organisation's response (Greenwood *et al.* 2011, p.345). The form of ownership also plays a role. The more cooperation and agreement need to be secure in responding to external demands, the more difficult it is for the organisation to do such. The second approach focuses on governance and power structures inside the organisation. Fligstein (1990) shows how leaders embed perspectives which are linked to their sensitivity to a particular logic and their functional backgrounds (e.g. marketing, finance) into organisational decisions. Pache and Santos (2010) take a different approach. Based on Greenwood and Hinings (1996), they point out the importance of taking into account the power distribution across functional and/or occupational groups. They systematically link intra-

organisational power structures with the likeliness of resolutions of institutional complexity. The implication is that constructing political coalitions is key.

2.5.3.4 Funding sources

Both Greenwood *et al.* (2011) and Pache and Santos (2010) suggest considering the effect of funding sources as an additional determining factor for organisational responses to competing institutional demands. Lounsbury (2001) demonstrated that publicly funded universities tend to align their responses to the demands of the government on which they depend for funding. The implication is that organisational responses to institutional complexity are impacted by the resource dependency of relevant institutional actors. Resource dependencies offer channels through which normative influences can cross organisational boundaries, which will force internal actors to carefully evaluate the risk of non-attention, consequently shaping organisational responses.

2.5.3.5 Organisational identity

Organisational identity deals with the characteristics that differentiate one organisation from another in the same institutional category. In the structures of cognition, it shapes an organisation's discretion when confronted with complexity (Narayanan *et al.* 2011). Some options might be excluded as they lack 'fit' with the organisational identity (Greenwood *et al.* 2011).The role of identity[6] as a filter "for interpreting and responding to strategic issues and environmental changes" (Glynn 2008, p.408) has received increasing attention from organisational scholars in recent years (Gioia *et al.* 2000; Hatch and Zilber 2012; Gioia and Thomas 1996; Dalpiaz *et al.* 2016; Ravasi and Schultz 2006; Lok 2010). Kraatz and Block (2008) have succinctly argued that institutional logics can only drive behaviour after a specific identity has been activated. Creating a positive organisational identity does not only help to balance and reconcile the different isomorphic pulls of the field, but is also a good foundation for the organisation to successfully blend the different institutional logics inside it (Battilana and Dorado 2010). In other words, a strong identity has the ability to weaken the influence of field-level intermediaries and logics on the organisation. Researchers should consider identity at the organisational and the institutional level (field), as the adopted perspective has been mostly either at an inter-organisational or field level (Wry, Lounsbury, *et al.* 2013). However, scholars have increasingly recognised organisational identity and links between the institutional and organisational level to develop a better understanding of how

[6] These also include an organisations mission, vision, and strategy.

organisations cope with institutional complexity (e.g. Battilana and Dorado 2010; Kraatz and Block 2008; Greenwood *et al.* 2011).

In higher education research, organisational identity is a relatively new concept (Fumasoli et al. 2014; Fumasoli et al. 2015; Seeber et al. 2015; Stensaker and Norgård 2001; Kodeih and Greenwood 2014). The first links between institutional complexity[7] and organisational identity in higher education were made by Kraatz and Block (2008, p.244) who argued:

> Clearly, pluralism creates the potential for fragmentation, incoherence, conflict, goal-ambiguity, and organizational instability (Stryker 2000; Heimer 1999). In an organization with multiple identities, purposes, and belief systems, no group is likely to be fully satisfied, and political tensions are likely to be endemic. Such organizations may even resemble the "organized anarchies" or "garbage-cans" that March and colleagues vividly described (March and Olsen, 1976; Cohen and March 1986). However, we think that institutional pluralism may create important opportunities for organizations, as well. We will suggest that institutionally-adept organizations are often able to simultaneously meet the expectations imposed by various institutional spheres in which they operate.

Kodeih and Greenwood (2014) investigated how French business schools responded to the pressure to internationalise their management education while maintaining their traditional identities. Frølich *et al.* (2013) analyse how individual higher education institutions cope with institutional pluralism and Stensacker (2015) argues that organisational identity is a promising concept for researching continuity and change in higher education institutions.

2.5.4 Missing factors

It is important to note that Greenwood *et al.* (2011) omit cognitive factors in their analytical framework, whereas Pache and Santos (2010) take the influence of cognitive frameworks into account. One example is staff members (e.g. leaders, board members, managers) who stick to normative and cognitive templates (Lounsbury 2001; Ingram and Simons 1995; Oliver 1991; D'Aunno *et al.* 1991). Cognitive factors are also valid for internal representation, such as members of a committee whose cognitive templates will give preference to one logic over another perceiving one as more appropriate (Friedland and Alford 1991; Thornton and Ocasio 2008). Westphal and Zajac (2001) also argue that an organisation's earlier exposure with a certain type of response increases the probability that the response will be used again. Other work has mentioned the cognitive substructures of the response process arguing that patterns of institutional resistance and

[7] Kraatz and Block use a slightly different terminology to address institutional complexity: pluralism.

change are also influenced by whether organisational leaders see external changes as an opportunity for or a threat against their legitimacy (Palthe 2014). Last but not least, there is the theme of communication. Cornelissen *et al.* (2015) and Zilber (2016) claim that more awareness of the dynamics of communication can enhance the explanatory power of the models and theories of institutions. However, they also draw attention to the different types of communicative interactions (e.g. speech) should not just be considered as a mirror of collective intentions or inner thoughts, but as an important element influencing institutional reality.

Another missing factor is ambidexterity. As universities have been exposed to increasing complexity, resulting in some parts of the university having to function according to the market logic (e.g. UCE), HEIs have increasingly adapted characteristics of hybrid organisations (Jongbloed 2015). However, being confronted with multiple institutional logics is difficult for HEIs and is likely to create internal tension that can lead to conflicts among organisational actors (Battilana and Dorado 2010). As Universities are relatively new to the business of hybrid organisations, they tend of have few employees who have experience managing the tension between the different logics (academe and market). Institutional ambidexterity (Smets and Jarzabkowski 2013; Greenwood et al. 2011) is a more recent approach focusing on the possible benefits of the ability to operate across coexisting and contradictory logics (Gibson *et al.* 2004; O'Reilly and Tushman 2013). Such operation offers a new angle to the previous view that sees institutional complexity as problematic and concentrates on avoiding conflict by keeping people, practices or audiences that follow contradictory logics apart (e.g. Seo and Creed 2002; Greenwood *et al.* 2006; Smets *et al.* 2012), overlooking that there might also be benefits from operating across different logics.

2.6 Research questions

Despite the rising interest in competing institutional pressures (Oliver 1991; Goodrick and Salancik 1996; Scott 2005; Seo and Creed 2002; Scott 2013b; Kraatz and Block 2008) and – the resulting organisational responses (Friedland and Alford 1991; Seo and Creed 2002; Beckert 1999; Peng and Heath 1996; Peng 2003; Abernethy and Chua 1996), there is still limited knowledge on how institutional pressures are mediated through organisational attributes and intra-organisational dynamics such as filtering and resolving conflicting institutional demands inside the organisation (Greenwood *et al.* 2014; Dacin *et al.* 2002; Kim *et al.* 2007; Pache and Santos 2010) and how this is shaping the institutional responses.

Higher education institutions seem to be the perfect case study. European higher education has been suffering a "state of institutional confusion" (Enders and de Boer 2009, p.159) accompanied by a process of de-institutionalisation and of re-institutionalisation (Enders 2016a). The traditional contract between society and the institution of the university has been eroding, the structure of the field is in flux and the boundaries of what constitutes a university are becoming more permeable. HEIs are faced with a growing number of new – and sometimes conflicting – demands, which often make full compliance unachievable, because fulfilling some demands will often result in rejecting or ignoring others (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Oliver 1991; Kraatz and Block 2008; Pache and Santos 2010). The new institutional pressures are often amplified by additional components such as the number of logics at play (Friedland and Alford 1991), the divergence between prescribed goals and means as well as the specificity of goals (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). Lifelong learning is such a new demand. The European Union is pushing for higher education intuitions (HEI) to embrace lifelong learning as part of the *'third mission'*, in addition to their traditional missions of research and teaching. However, Swiss Universities to date have been hesitant to fully integrate LLL into their institutional missions and strategies. As a result, the discrepancy between talk, decisions and actions has narrowed little over the past decade. The lack of progress is the point of departure for the central research question underpinning the current thesis:

How do Swiss Universities experience and respond to the institutional pressure of engaging in lifelong learning?

Based on the literature review, three sub-research questions (RQ) have been developed. They frame the focus of the research design (see Chapter 3):

Sub-research question 1: What is the origin (source, meaning and degree) of the institutional pressure to engage in lifelong learning?

Sub-research question 2: With which repertoire of strategic and structural responses do Swiss HEIs (as an organisation and their individual actors or actor groups) respond to the institutional pressure to engage in lifelong learning?

Sub-research question 3: How do the organisational attributes influence the strategic and structural responses?

2.7 Conclusion

Since Oliver's (1991) seminal article on strategic responses to institutional pressure, in which she first drew attention to the fact that organisations may demonstrate different strategic behaviours in response to the same institutional pressures, a growing number of studies have demonstrated that

organisational responses are not uniform (Purdy and Gray 2009; Marquis *et al.* 2007; Rao *et al.* 2003; Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Kraatz and Block 2008; Pache and Santos 2010; Kim *et al.* 2007; Greenwood *et al.* 2011). The isomorphic argument has come under pressure, and organisational scholars have shifted their focus from (a) homogeneity to heterogeneity, from (b) organisational stability to organisational change and from (c) periodic to continuous complexity. There is increasing evidence that institutional complexity might not be a temporary episode, but a permanent state (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Paula Jarzabkowski *et al.* 2013) – in particular for those organisations which by their nature are exposed to multiple logics, such as universities or hospitals (Grenier and Bernardini-Perinciolo 2015; Pache 2010). In such organisations, diverging demands from different legitimating stakeholders inevitably collide, and institutional complexity therefore needs to be proactively managed.

To better understand organisational responses to institutional complexity, researchers have attempted to penetrate the surface of organisations and identify intra-organisational dynamics. The focus has been on the incompatibilities and tensions that characterise the incompatibility of competing pressures (Battilana and Lee 2014; Battilana and Dorado 2010; Pache and Santos 2011). Consequently, empirical studies that have built on Oliver's (1991) influential framework have mainly focused on defensive organisational responses. The responses involve resistance to institutional pressures, use of organisational status to avoid or defy problematic stakeholders, or decoupling, i.e. compartmentalisation of compliance with different sets of expectations into different organisational units (e.g. Dunn and Jones 2010; Lounsbury 2007; Jarzabkowski *et al.* 2009). Common to the majority of these responses is their focus on simplifying the situation and reducing the tensions of complexity by keeping apart competing logics as well as the practices and actors who are involved (Jarzabkowski *et al.* 2013).

However, more recently, the research focus has shifted to how organisations develop structures, strategies and internal capabilities that help them to embrace complexity and manage demands, particularly from those entities upon which they depend on for legitimacy and resources. And new themes have emerged, such as the role of strategic agency (e.g. Fumasoli and Huisman 2013; Grenier and Bernardini-Perinciolo 2015; Dalpiaz *et al.* 2016; Laine and Vaara 2015; Herepath 2014) and individual discretion (Enders *et al.* 2012) as well as the influence of organisational attributes (Greenwood *et al.* 2011) . Novel concepts such as the hybrid organisation (Pache and Santos 2011; Battilana and Lee 2014; Pache and Santos 2013a), ambidexterity (Smets and

Jarzabkowski 2013; O'Reilly and Tushman 2013; Turner et al. 2013) or institutional bricolage (Højgaard Christiansen and Lounsbury 2013; Rindova *et al.* 2011) have also emerged. These new approaches are valuable perspectives for the better understanding of the dynamics behind the HEIs' responses to the institutional pressure to engage in lifelong learning.

3 Research Design

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the research design of the project. The challenge was to choose a method of inquiry that would explain both the 'whys' and 'hows' of the complex interplay between the field (macro level), the organisation (meso level) as well as teams and individuals inside the organisation (micro level). An exploratory multiple case-study approach was selected. The research design decisions and the associated reasons for these decisions are described in the chapter. The chapter also explains the methodological issues of data collection and analysis, proceeding to address ethical issues, such as the protection of study participants and the avoidance of bias.

3.2 Research methodology: a qualitative case-study research approach

A good match between research questions and methods, and in particular the influence of the former over the latter (Punch 2005, p.19), is crucial. In the study, the research questions demanded data gathering, interpretation, and presentation with choices around the scope and level of detail, with the potential to move back-and-forth between the intra-organisational (micro), the organisational (meso) and field data (macro). The case-study method was selected as it accommodates the use of multiple sources of data resulting in converging lines of inquiry, which facilitate triangulation and offer findings that are likely to be much more convincing and accurate (Yin 2013, p.120). Since the 1980s, the use of the case-study methodology in educational research has gained in popularity (Nath 2005) for developing theories which illuminate policy and enhance educational practice (Bassey 1999).

3.2.1 Strategy of inquiry: an exploratory multiple case-study

The research questions required the analysis of the complex interconnections of the social behaviour of both groups and individuals (Creswell 2009) in the higher education institutions as well as an understanding of the underlying motives that govern such behaviours. A qualitative study using an exploratory case-study approach (Yin 2013) which allows for a large number of variables was considered the best option. Relying on multiple cases allowed the researcher to add depth and breadth to the data collection, analysis, and triangulate the data to ensure the validity of the research.

Yin (2013, p.2) recommends the use of a case study when (a) the research questions focus on the why and how, (b) the researcher has scarcely any control over behavioural events; and (c) the focus of the study is a contemporary phenomenon. Case studies are particularly suitable for the observation of the real world:

> [. . .] data-driven research may augment a general understanding about how phenomena operate. It can also be used to help explain where things are going wrong, to demonstrate a method that seems to work well (or better than some other method), to try and convince trainers or policy-makers to effect changes in present methods, or to enable individual readers to gain fresh insights into their own behaviour or practice. (Wallace and Wray 2011, p.21)

Beyond tackling complexity, the exploratory case-study approach also allows for (a) the use of multiple data sources (e.g. interviews, focus groups, and document analysis), (b) inductive data analysis in which themes emerge from the raw data through repeated examination and comparison, as well as (c) emergent design in which the research process, the questions, or the interviewees might be modified as new information emerges.

However, there are limitations and weaknesses associated with the case-study method. Critics argue that one cannot generalise from a single or small number of cases and even if research in the social sciences is about generalising. Some also claim that the case study is only suitable for pilot studies and not for larger research projects. Others maintain that the case study allows for too much interpretation by the researcher. In their opinion, the issues impact upon the validity of the case study (Flyvbjerg 2006; Yin 2013). In his article, *Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research*, Flyvbjerg (2006) debunks the myths one by one and concludes with the 'Kuhnian' insight: the scientific world does not aim at novelty, rather it focuses on clearing up the status quo by discovering what it expects to discover. Over time unresolved anomalies accumulate and eventually get to the point where some researchers begin to question the paradigm itself. Then the discipline enters a period of crisis that will ultimately be resolved by a change in worldview when the now deficient paradigm is replaced by a newer one. After that, the research field returns to 'normal' science based on the new framework – and so it goes on. Ultimately, social science will be strengthened by the execution of a higher number of useful case studies (Kuhn 1962).

3.2.2 Case selection

The selection of cases is critical in the case-study approach. Yin (2013) provides important guidelines for defining the case. Findings must reflect the real case(s) under investigation and in the situation of multiple case analyses, that the cases are comparable. Providing the limited number of cases that can realistically be examined, Pettigrew (1990, p.275) suggests that the researcher should "Go for extreme situations, critical incidents and social dramas". The researcher has chosen the four comparable higher education institutions from the overall pool of twelve Swiss universities (ten cantonal universities and the two Federal Institutes of Technology), of which six cantonal universities would have been comparable. The other six universities diverge significantly in terms of size and subject areas. The four selected HEI cases are similar regarding disciplinary profiles (faculties) and governance structures but vary when it comes to age, size, geographic location and operating language, due to Switzerland's different language regions (for detailed information see Table 7: Overview of the four Swiss universities, p.24). The four universities also first engaged in continuing education in the mid-1990s. Nevertheless, there are marked differences as to where the universities stand in terms of the integration of UCE into missions, the proportional size of the UCE activities and internal acceptance.

3.2.3 Data collection

3.2.3.1 Internal and external documents

The analysis of documentation is important to gaining a thorough understanding of the wider context of university continuing education and to journey the HEIs have taken. Documentary analysis is considered an unobtrusive technique as the analysed data is unaffected by its use (Saunders et al. 2015). The technique differs from other methods where the research subjects are directly involved, which might result in reactive effects known as altered behaviour. A wide range of documents relating to the four HEIs and the overall university continuing education context were reviewed. Almost all the material was available online[8]. A few others were made available by the interviewees and experts. The materials included a number of official and unofficial documents of regulatory, institutional and communicative nature, some going as far back as the mid-1990s. An overview of the types of documents can be found in the following table. The analysis also covered LLL reports and statistics published by the Swiss Confederations, European Union, Cedefop, UNESCO, OECD and other bodies such as EUCEN, the European University Association and the

[8] Being public universities, the HEIs are to make information available online.

World Economic Forum. Direct observations and physical artefacts (site visits) completed the study.

Table 3: Overview of analysed desk materials

	SOURCES				
	External		Internal Universities "A", "B", "C", "D"		
	Regulatory bodies[9]	**Professional bodies**[10]	**HEI**	**UCE centre**	**Programme**
Legislative and regulatory materials (incl. declarations)					
- European Union / EHEA policy documents and declarations	X				
- Swiss Federal HE and UCE laws	X				
- Swiss Cantonal University Laws	X		X		
- Reports to/from regulatory authorities		X	X		
- Strategy documents			X	X	
- Regulations			X	X	X
Communication materials					
- Websites	X	X	X	X	X
- Social media channels		X	X	X	X
- Media releases			X		
- Annual reports		X	X		
- Brochures		X	X	X	X
Statistical data	X	X	X	X	
UCE Reports, monitors, positioning/white papers	X	X	X	X	

3.2.3.2 Interviews

3.2.3.2.1 Selection of the interviewees and process

The primary source of evidence derives from 42 in-depth semi-structured interviews mostly with representatives from the four HEIs, but some also with senior members of policy bodies such as Swissuniversities, EUCEN, Swissuni, SBFI and UNESCO. Two independent LLL experts were also interviewed to gain an outside view (for a detailed list of interviewees, see appendices, section 10.1, p. 161).

[9] EU/EHEA, Swiss Federal Government, Cantonal governments

[10] Swissuniversities, EUCEN, Swissuni

In case of the HEIs, the choice of 36 interviewees aimed to deconstruct the organisation as a single entity and understand how these different groups within the university experience, diffuse and respond to the institutional pressure to engage in UCE:

(1) *The rectors*: as 'chief boundary spanners' between the HEI and the outside world they play a crucial role in environmental scanning, sensemaking, sensegiving, strategy formulation and issues selling (Narayanan *et al.* 2011) for UCE;

(2) The *vice-rectors in charge of UCE*: as another member of the leadership team, but more importantly as the internal boundary-spanning interface between the rector, the UCE commission, the UCE programme directors, the UCE administrative staff and the faculty;

(3) The *UCE senior administrative staff*: as those who are positioned at the technical core of all UCE activities and liaise with the UCE national and/or European professional association(s);

(4) The *UCE programme directors*: as highly entrepreneurial individuals (but also members of the faculty) who are responsible for their respective UCE programme(s) and also teach in the programmes; in most cases, the programme has been initiated by them;

(5) The *faculty members not involved in UCE*: as members from inside the faculties, i.e. the academic core (research and teaching), with no involvement in continuing education.

Table 4: Overview of 36 interviews conducted in the four HEIs

	University "A"	**University "B"**	**University "C"**	**University "D"**
Senior Leadership				
Rector	1	1	1	1
Vice-rector in charge of UCE	1	1	1	1
UCE senior staff	3	2	1	1
UCE programme directors	3	4	3	4
Faculty not involved in UCE	1	2	1	2
Total	**9**	**10**	**7**	**10**

In some cases, interviewees also represent their university in external expert commissions. For instance, the rectors are members of the Chamber of Universities (former CRUS) of Swissuniversities. Part of the UCE senior staff is also involved in Swissuni and/or EUCEN.

The names of the interviewees (based on a set of predefined criteria – see previous) were partly provided by the four rectors who had gracefully agreed to their university participating in the study. Other members of the four HEIs were directly identified by the researchers. The rectors acted as important ‘door openers’ which resulted in all but two persons participating in the interview process. Interviewees received background information on the researcher, the study and the interview process some weeks before the interview. One week before the interview, each was given the list of questions. At the beginning of each interview, the participant received a five-minute briefing with ample opportunity to ask for clarifications. Each interview lasted between 50-75 min. Most interviews were conducted face-to-face, but some also via Skype or phone, between August 2015 and January 2016. The interviews were conducted in German, English or French depending on the interviewee’s preference. The participants demonstrated openness and critical reflection. The interviews were recorded with two devices (in case there was a problem with one), transcribed and coded in NVivo.

3.2.3.2.2 Interview design

The objective was to better understand how different groups respond to institutional pressure and to learn how organisational attributes influence the HEIs strategic and structural responses. The research questions were operationalised (for the interview guide with the list of interview questions by group see appendices, section 10.2, p.163) and tailored to the different target groups (see Table 4). They covered a wide spectrum of subjects starting from the current higher education macro-trends and challenges to numerous continuing education themes at the field and (e.g. regulatory framework, competition, players, key events) institutional level (e.g. Cantonal University Laws, place of UCE in mission and strategy, organisational identity, funding, external representation of UCE interests) as well as at the intra-organisational level (e.g. internal communication channels for UCE).

3.2.3.2.3 Limitation of interviews

Conducting research interviews is high stakes. It requires skills such as the ability to listen carefully and the ability to restrain oneself as well as thorough planning, preparation and expertise on the matter to ask informed questions. One drawback is the possible bias of interviewees. About half the interviewees have been part of their university’s UCE journey and might have wanted to make certain points to create a specific impression of their given programme. Another issue is that the meaning of their words may be elusive, even if the interviewee and the researcher seemed to speak

the same language, his or her words could have had different cultural meanings and could have been based on different worldviews (Qu and Dumay 2011). The risks were taken into consideration. The interviews were planned and prepared carefully, but reflexivity during the actual process was also given consideration.

3.2.4 Data analysis

The 42 interviews and the quantity of data required the researcher to have a structured approach. Glesne (2010, p. 127) argues:

> Data analysis involves organizing what you have seen, heard, and read so that you can make sense of what you have learned. Working with the data, you describe, create explanations, pose hypotheses, develop theories, and link your story to other stories. To do so, you must categorize, synthesize, search for patterns, and interpret the data you have collected.

For that reason, an analytical strategy was developed before engaging with the data using NVivo. Yet, the challenge was that there are few fixed formulas to guide data analysis in case-study research (Yin 2013, p.133). Consequently, much of the work depended on the researcher's own empirical thinking, presentation of evidence, consideration of alternative interpretations and comparison as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1965; 1967). Tesch (1990, p.96) posit:

> The main intellectual tool is comparison. The method of comparing and contrasting is used for practically all intellectual tasks during analysis: forming categories, establishing the boundaries of the categories, assigning the segments to categories, summarizing the content of each category, finding negative evidence, etc. The goal is to discern conceptual similarities, to refine the discriminative power of categories, and to discover patterns.

The researcher conducted comparisons and also categorised, coded, delineated categories and connected them, using the five-step analysis procedure proposed by Boeije (2002, p.396):

(1) Comparison within a single interview/document to interpret fragments and develop categories;

(2) Comparison between interviews/documents within the same university to conceptualise the subject and produce typology;

(3) Comparison of interviews/documents from the same theme (e.g. Rector or Head Continuing Education Centre) but different universities to triangulate the data sources and enhance the information;

(4) Comparison of a group of actors (e.g. Heads Continuing Education Centre) with another group inside the university (e.g. rector) to conceptualise relationship issues and understand the interaction between partners;

(5) Comparison of a group of actors (e.g. Heads Continuing Education Centre) with the corresponding group in another university to identify criteria for reciprocal comparison and produce typology.

The coding of the interviews and existing materials (e.g. websites, brochures, strategy documents, promotional materials) was based on the theoretical framework and the emergent themes using the constant comparative method, allowing for themes and patterns to emerge from multiple sources of evidence. As the data analysis was ongoing, new data was being collected. The iterative method allowed for additional themes and constructs to emerge during the analysis (process of grounded analysis). In such cases, new nodes were created and integrated into the interview guide for future interviews. Once the material was coded, a second coding round was conducted. The result was an ongoing process between interviews, desktop materials and notes throughout the data collection and analysis processes. The entire analysis was conducted in NVivo which allows coding through categorisation (these categories are called ‘nodes’ in the software), linking, annotations and research notes, also allowing for easy recording, merging, or relabelling of nodes as the research progresses.

To ensure the quality of the analysis and validate the findings, the triangulation method was applied, i.e. several methods and sources were used to validate the data through cross verification. Regular feedback from the supervisors on the data analysis strategy and the emerging constructs and themes throughout the research project was also sought and implemented.

3.3 Ethical considerations

The resulting research has the potential to have an impact on people and organisations. The consequences of the study have, therefore, been carefully taken into account, ensuring that the research participants, the professional community, organisations, policymakers, and the general public are not harmed (McNeill and Chapman 2005, p.23). The researcher has tried to ensure that the research has been conducted with an ethic of respect for (1) the individual, (2) knowledge, (3) democratic values, (4) the quality of educational research, and (5) academic freedom (British Educational Research Association 2011). The research project applied the *BERA Ethical Guidelines*

for Educational Research (British Educational Research Association 2011). The research proposal was also approved by the University of Bath's Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee ('SSREC') prior to the start of the study. The Board was advised through formal proceedings of the intended study, the data collection, handling and storage, use of the findings, possible conflicts of interest, compliance with professional body codes of conduct – the BRERA *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (British Educational Research Association 2011), the location of research, the demonstration of ethical considerations, the protection of participants, the avoidance of bias (see above), the proposed methods and how they would be deployed. The Board approved the research study. The approval documentation was forwarded to the UWS Research Degrees Committee for noting on the basis that the University of Bath had also considered and approved the Candidature form through a formal procedure.

3.3.1 Protecting participants and seeking consent

Voluntary informed consent of the study participants, namely, "the condition in which participants understand and agree to their participation without any duress, prior to the research getting underway" (British Educational Research Association 2011, p.5), was central to recruitment. An informed consent letter was developed. It was emailed to research participants before their participation in the study. It contained the following information (Sarantakos 2005; Creswell 2009):

- Identification of the researcher (including the researcher's student status at the University of Bath)
- Identification of the purpose of the research
- A description of research procedures
- Identification of the benefits of participating
- Explanation of how the interview participants have been selected
- Identification of the level and type of participant involvement required
- Guarantee of confidentiality to the participant with an explanation of how the study results may be shared
- A statement guaranteeing that participants are free to withdraw their participation at any time without prejudice
- Provision of names of persons to contact in case questions arise
- The expected duration and nature of participation
- Information regarding the intent to publish the results
- Identification of the sponsoring institution (in this case there was no sponsor)

The participants' statements of consent have been filed for the record. To help ensure unresolved concerns were avoided, the points were also repeated prior to each interview.

3.3.2 Ensuring confidentiality

Guaranteeing the confidentiality of the information collected from the research participants means that only one person, the researcher, can link the responses back to individual subjects. Every effort has been made to avoid persons from outside of the project being able to connect individual subjects with responses. Study codes were used instead of identifying information on data documents (e.g. transcripts), considering that making data anonymous sometimes takes more than this basic step to protect a participant's identity. Sometimes, when more pieces of information (e.g. job title, age, geographical location or strongly expressed opinions) are presented together, they might also reveal a participant's identity. The information that links the study codes to the study participants' identifying information has been put in a separate document in a location to which only the author has access. Any other study data or documentation that contain identifiers (e.g. names) the names or any other information that would allow the identification of individuals or institutions are securely stored.

3.3.3 Avoiding bias

The researcher worked in university continuing education from 2003 to 2013. The experience, combined with the case-study approach, increases the risk of bias. It was crucial to develop a thorough understanding of possible preconceptions before initiating the research project as these could "sway them towards supportive evidence and away from contrary evidence" (Yin 2013, p.76). The sources for potential bias (Norris 2007) are (1) the reactivity of the researcher with the research participants; (2) selection bias (sampling of times, events, places, people, issues, and questions); (3) reliability and availability of data; (4) affinity of researchers with specific persons, designs, data, theories, concepts and explanations; (5) ability of the researcher with regards to knowledge, skills, and methodological strengths; (6) value preferences and commitment of the researcher and his or her knowledge of these; and (7) personal qualities of researcher; for example, his or her capacity for concentration and patience, tolerance of boredom and ambiguity, or his or her need for resolution, conclusion, and certainty. To minimise bias, the methodological triangulation approach was applied. The author also made a deliberate effort to address the assumptions and prejudices proactively so that they could be challenged by the supervisors, some critical fellow researchers and

the researcher, ensuring that biases in explanations and interpretations were identified and addressed.

4 Conceptual Development and Terminology

Extensive terminology has evolved from adult education via continuing education to lifelong learning. Before delving more deeply into the thesis, it is essential to consider how the field has been conceptualised.

4.1 Evolution of terminology

A recent paper about the development of the European Union's lifelong learning discourse over the past 50 years (Volles 2016) reveals that its conceptualisation has changed dramatically. The origin of LLL lies in the adult education movement of the 1920s which in the 1960s and 1970s moved on to become 'recurrent education' and 'éducation permanente'. Over the 1980s, the concept evolved to 'lifelong education', a phrase that encompassed learning across a person's entire life. During this time, the lifelong learning theme was mostly pushed by international organisations. It was only in the mid-1990s with the European Year of Lifelong Learning (1996) that continuing education was catapulted to the top of the European Union's policy agenda. As Bagnall (2000) noted the evolution and use of different terminology has been influenced by (a) the roots of the LLL discourse within adult education; (b) the changes in the conceptualisation of lifelong learning; (c) the fact that LLL is an interdisciplinary theme; (d) the different national interpretations of LLL; and (e) the wide variety of ideological schools of thought, ranging from an economic deterministic on one side to a merely humanistic approach on the other side.

In analysing the different discourses of UNESCO, the OECD, the EU and Switzerland, two significant discursive shifts can be observed (Volles 2016):
(a) the first one, from 'adult' to 'recurrent' and 'permanent' education to 'continuing' education and subsequently 'lifelong' education with an emphasis on the cradle-to-grave approach; and
(b) the second one, from 'education' to 'learning', shifting the focus of the educational process from institutions and structures to the individual at the centre who must assume responsibility for his or her own learning (Borg and Mayo 2005).

The lifelong learning paradigm – or disciplinary matrix (Kuhn 2012) – still seems to be weak as the terminology and the definition of lifelong learning still varies depending on the perspective of the respective players.

4.2 From continuing education to lifelong learning

The EU promotes a broad definition of lifelong learning that covers the entire learning spectrum ranging from formal and non-formal learning to informal learning[11]. The European Commission's definition of lifelong learning reads:

> […] all learning activity[12] undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective.
> (Commission of the European Communities 2001, p.10)

Whereas 'continuing education and training' aims to "acquire, improve or update knowledge, skills or competencies in a specific field" (Cedefop 2014, p.18), the EU's definition of lifelong learning is similar to, but not identical with continuing education and training. The same also tends to be the case in Switzerland, even if the Swiss Federal Government exclusively uses the term 'continuing education', unless they refer to specific EU lifelong learning initiatives, for instance, the European Qualification Framework ('EQF')[13] for Lifelong Learning. But although Swiss players such as the media, educational associations and higher education institutions seem to use the terms 'lifelong learning' and 'continuing education' interchangeably, although there are some marked differences when linking to the EU discourse. Lifelong learning clearly goes beyond continuing education, integrating such concepts as widening access and flexible pathways.

Over the past 20 years, most HEIs in Europe have developed some continuing education initiatives that are aimed at mid-career professionals. The initiatives include a wide variety of degree and non-degree programmes for adults who want to upgrade their knowledge and/or – to a far lesser extent – have interrupted their education. It involves obtaining qualifications (degree and non-degree programmes), extending knowledge, acquiring new skills and competencies or enhancing personal growth. Yet, the so-called university lifelong learning demonstrates a diversity of positions between

[11] EU definitions of formal, non-formal and informal learning as published by Cedefop (2014):
Formal learning: Learning that occurs in an organised and structured environment (such as in an education or training institution or on the job) and is explicitly designated as learning (in terms of objectives, time or resources). Formal learning is intentional from the learner's point of view. It typically leads to certification.
Non-formal learning: Learning which is embedded in planned activities not explicitly designated as learning (in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support), but which contain an important learning element. Non-formal learning is intentional from the learner's point of view. It typically does not lead to certification.
Informal learning: Learning resulting from daily activities related to work, family or leisure. It is not organised or structured in terms of objectives, time or learning support. Informal learning is in most cases unintentional from the learner's perspective.

[12] The definition also draws attention to formal, non-formal, and informal learning activities.

[13] The European Qualifications Framework (EQF) makes national educational qualifications more readable across Europe, promoting mobility. The framework encompasses different categories of education, training and qualifications ranging from school and tertiary education to vocational and professional education. This approach offers a change from the traditional focus on 'learning inputs' (e.g. type of institution or length of a programme) to learning outcomes. Moreover, it wants to encourage lifelong learning through the promotion of the validation of non-formal and informal learning. This is a significant shift and has the intention to act as a catalyst for reforms. Most EU member states – and also Switzerland – have been working on developing their own National Qualifications Frameworks (NQFs).

countries and institutions, which is reflected in the variety of phrases (e.g. lifelong learning in higher education, university lifelong learning, tertiary lifelong learning, university continuing education, academic continuing education, further education at tertiary level, advanced studies, executive education) and approaches. Although '(university) continuing education and '(university) lifelong learning' cannot be isolated from concepts such as flexible pathways, the recognition of prior learning, the access of non-traditional students and the economic, cultural and social development of communities and the region, the current study uses the phrase 'university continuing education' when strictly referring to educational activities and 'university lifelong learning' or even 'lifelong learning university' when making a reference to a more holistic, integrative approach as explained in EUCEN's definition of university lifelong learning:

> ULLL is the provision by higher education institutions of learning opportunities, services and research for the personal and professional development of a wide range of individuals – lifelong and life wide; and the social, cultural and economic development of communities and the region. It is at university level and research-based; it focuses primarily on the needs of the learners; and it is often developed and/or provided in collaboration with stakeholders and external actors. (EUCEN 2007a, p.1)

The terminology concerning university continuing education varies widely, despite the limited number of institutions. The Swiss Federal and Cantonal Governments use the terms 'continued' or 'continuing education' (both expressions are used interchangeably), even if the European Union is trying to promote the wider concept of lifelong learning over education and training (European Union 2013, p.63). The Swiss universities use a variety of terms ranging from 'scientific continuing education', 'advanced studies', 'executive education' and '(university) continuing education' to 'academic continuing education' and 'university lifelong learning'. The multiplicity of expressions suggests an underdeveloped paradigm and at the same time is a symptom of the HEIs' insecurity around the theme of lifelong learning.

Table 5: Evolution of terminology (not taking into account the actual meanings of words) adapted from Volles (2016, p.345)

		1940s	**1950s**	**1960s**	**1970s**	**1980s**	**1990s**	**From 2000**
General	UNESCO	Adult education	Adult education	Éducation permanente	Lifelong education	Lifelong education	Lifelong learning	Lifelong learning
	OECD	--	--	Recurrent education	Recurrent education	Recurrent education	Lifelong learning	Lifelong learning
	European Union	--	--	Permanent education & recurrent education	(mostly absent from agenda)	(mostly absent from agenda)	Lifelong learning	Lifelong learning, Continuing education & training
	Switzerland	--	--	Adult education	Adult education	Adult education	Continuing education / Further education	Continuing education / further education
Higher education	UNESCO	--	--	--	--	--	--	Lifelong learning in higher education
	OECD	--	--	--	--	--	--	Lifelong learning in higher education, university continuing education
	European Union	--	--	--	--	--	--	University lifelong learning (Lifelong learning university), Tertiary lifelong learning, university continuing education, Academic continuing education
	Switzerland	--	--	--	--	--	--	Continuing (higher) education, Lifelong learning, Further education at tertiary level, Advanced studies, Executive education, Academic continuing education, Scientific continuing education

5 The Development of Lifelong Learning in the EU and Switzerland

The objective of the chapter is to provide the necessary background information on the theme of (university) continuing education and (university) lifelong learning. Understanding the main developments on the EU's lifelong learning policy discourse and drawing a picture of the continuing education history and landscape in Switzerland requires taking path dependencies into account.

5.1 European Union

5.1.1 Development of the lifelong learning notion in Europe

5.1.1.1 1960s-1990s: From the beginnings to becoming a central theme in the EU's employment strategy

The Council of Europe first starts referring to the idea of lifelong learning in the late 1960s, amidst widespread student unrest. In 1967, the Council of Europe declares that *permanent education* (PE) as part of its educational policy (Titz 1981), though this is followed by little action throughout the 1970s and 1980s. During this time, most of the LLL debate occurs among continuing education experts within intergovernmental agencies, in particular UNESCO, buffered from the external environment (Volles 2016). The publication of UNESCO's *Learning to Be* (Faure 1972), also known as the *Faure Report*, represents a milestone for lifelong learning. It is written by an international group of experts led by Edgar Faure, France's Minister of Education and former Prime Minister. UNESCO's takes a humanistic approach to lifelong learning across the lifespan, closely linking lifelong education to solidarity and democracy and are key to "the complete fulfilment of man" (Faure 1972, p.vi). The organisation promotes a flexible approach and not only demands the recognition of formal and informal knowledge, but also the integration of environmental, cultural and health education into curricula. It critiques the "authoritarian, uniform, monolithic, and unequal design of most education systems" (Lee *et al.* 2008, p.447) of the 1960s and calls for the industry to step up in terms of providing education. The vision expressed in *Learning to Be* about education in general and, more explicitly, about lifelong education and the learning society, stand in stark contrast with the more recent neoliberal LLL discourses, policies and practices (Volles 2016).

It is only in the 1990s under the EC presidency of Jacques Delors[14] that lifelong learning makes a return to the agenda of the EU, resulting in the body becoming a principal political actor in

[14] Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission 1985-1994 and member of the Socialist Party in France, was an advocate for social policies and was strongly committed to education.

promoting LLL. In December 1993, a white paper with the title *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment – The challenges and ways forward into the 21st century* (European Commission *et al.* 1993) is put forward to the European Council. Jacques Delors hopes to receive the approval from European Union member states for a new EU development model to address the ongoing economic crisis. He champions lifelong learning as the "catalyst of a changing society" (p. 133) and proposes the European Year of Lifelong Learning (EYLLL, 1996), which puts LLL onto national agendas. As a result, the Council adopts the *Strategy for Lifelong Learning* (Council of Europe 1996), which specifies some key principles and puts forth a framework to address slow growth and lack of competitiveness. It recommends various initiatives to be taken in the member states including at community level. However, the strategy also marks a critical discursive change away from Delors' social integration (European Commission 1994) to a more neo-liberal approach stressing individual responsibility[15]. The Treaty of Amsterdam (European Communities 1997) also openly supports lifelong learning, resulting in LLL becoming a key theme in the EU's employment strategy over the following years (Volles 2016).

5.1.1.2 The 2000s to today: Bringing the lifelong learning to the centre of EU policy

The period between 2000 and 2007 is strongly influenced by the Lisbon Strategy (European Council 2000), an ambitious plan designed for the European Union to develop into 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world' by 2010 (p.5). Part of the plan is the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* (Commission of the European Communities 2000), which creates the foundation for the EC's *Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality* (European Commission 2001), a wide-ranging policy document for implementing LLL which is defined as:

> […A]ll learning activity undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective. (Commission of the European Communities 2001, p.9)

However, by 2005, the EU recognises it will fail to meet its ambitious goals expressed in the Lisbon Strategy by 2010: parts of the EU continue to suffer from long-term structural unemployment, economic growth is sluggish, and the shift towards the knowledge economy is slow. Moreover, the global financial crisis of 2008 leads to the sovereign debt crisis worsening the situation, paralysing the global economy and pushing several EU countries to the verge of collapse. Extensive austerity measures result in severe budget cutbacks (incl. education) across Europe. By the end of 2012, youth

[15] The EU presidency passed from the socio-democrat Jacques Delors (1985–1994) to the Christian-democrat Jacques Santer (1995–1999). Lord (2002, p.324) raises the issue that the two politicians had very contrasting leadership styles: He characterises Delors as a risk-taker and Santer as a 'consolidator'.

unemployment reaches an all-time height of 24% (European Union 2017). At the same time, the EU declares there is a broadening skills gap, claiming that over 2 million positions cannot be filled. In 2009, the European Council approves a new strategic framework to strengthen European cooperation, the *Education and Training 2020* (Council of Europe 2009). The framework includes common objectives for EU member states with particular attention given to lifelong learning and adult participation in training and education. However, the 2017 edition of the European *Education and Training Monitor* (European Commission 2017a) shows that with a 10.8%[16] participation in LLL, the EU's lifelong learning (covering ages 25–64) goals are still far from being met. What is more, at the 2017 EU Leaders' meeting in Gothenburg, the EU announces the increase for participation in lifelong learning from the 15% benchmarking target (2020) to an ambitious 25% by 2025 (European Commission 2017b, p.8) reaffirming the role of education as a driver for job creation, economic growth, social equality as well as a means to experience European identity. While the participation rate of adults with tertiary education attainment is somewhat higher (18.6%), it seems as if in many EU countries, the lifelong learning strategy has failed to meet its goals. Behind this background, higher education institutions have been called upon to step up their role in lifelong learning.

5.1.2 Higher Education enter the LLL field

Though education has formally remained under the sphere of the nation states, the EU has exerted soft governance through such instruments as standardisation, benchmarks, indicators and the open method of coordination ('OMC') (Elken 2017; Lawn 2011) altering the educational landscape and impacting its governance. The Bologna Process (1999) is an excellent example of this. It brought about a sea change by creating the European Higher Education Area[17] (EHEA), harmonising academic degree structures (bachelor, master, PhD) and standards far beyond the member states of the EU. Thus, the EU has been quite efficient in acting as a norm entrepreneur for education (Kleibrink 2011). Persuasion and voluntary implementation have become the European Union's way (Grek and Ozga 2010) of governing, detouring the EU's subsidiarity principle (Brøgger 2016) that has kept education out of the European Union's legislative reach.

5.1.2.1 Institutional pressures impacting higher education

[16] Although the average participation has remained almost unchanged, its value varies considerably depending on the country.

[17] The European Higher Education Area (EHEA) comprises 48 countries of which 27 are members of the EU.

Before examining the sources of institutional pressure for higher education to engage in continuous education, it is important to look at the interplay between the European Union's struggles and the demands placed on HEIs. The EU has faced numerous challenges over the past few years: (1) sluggish economic growth (though there are some signs of improvement), (2) the sovereign debt crises followed by cycles of bailouts and austerity, (3) persistent high unemployment rates (especially when it comes to youth unemployment), (4) the staggering shift toward a knowledge-led economy as well as (5) demographic ageing (European Commission 2012). On top of that, there are more recent issues such as (6) the slow progress in the preparation of European societies for the digital future, (7) the migration and refugee crisis, (8) trade-policy issues, (9) Brexit, and last but not least, (10) political volatility and the declining confidence in the EU (WEF 2018). This background has led many of Europe's economies to place higher education at the core of their national competitiveness agendas (e.g. Sursock and Smidt 2010; Curaj et al. 2012; Gornitzka et al. 2017) with HEIs increasingly being seen as 'economic engines' (Jongbloed *et al.* 2008; High Level Group on the Modernisation of Higher Education 2013). Tertiary level education providers are considered key to guaranteeing knowledge production by means of research, innovation and the education and constant up-skilling of the labour force. As a result, the primary functions that higher education institutions perform are going through a process of change (e.g. Enders 2004; OECD 2007; Jongbloed *et al.* 2008). The teaching and research functions are being reassessed with an eye upon the contribution they make to the social-economic well-being of their regional, national and international environment. Higher education is not only expected to deliver excellent education and high-quality research and but also to deliver on the so-called 'third mission', i.e. technology transfer, innovation (incl. entrepreneurship, social engagement and continuing education (Jongbloed *et al.* 2008; Benneworth *et al.* 2015), in order to be relevant to the productive process and to shape the knowledge-based society. The situation is a fundamental change in the social contract between universities, on the one hand, and the state on the other, with the latter, now having much more specific expectations regarding the outputs produced vis-à-vis the return on the public's investment (Guston and Keniston 1994; Neave 2006). As a result, universities are more constrained than ever and forced to carefully reconsider their role and relationships with a growing number of constituencies – each of which places a particular set of demands on the institution.

5.1.2.2 Universities enter the European LLL space

Since the European Year of Lifelong Learning in 1996, most European Universities have developed some continuing education initiative (EUCEN 2012a, p.6). The activities include a variety of degree and non-degree programmes for adults, who want to upgrade knowledge, obtain qualifications, acquire new skills and competencies, or achieve personal growth. During the period following the Lisbon Meeting in 2000, universities were absorbed by the implementation of the Bologna Reforms, leaving little room for LLL. Moreover, there was little specific funding or legal framework to build up lifelong learning activities in many nations. The EUA's *Trends Report* (Reichert and Tauch 2003, p.98) submitted to the 2003 Berlin Bologna meeting of the 33 Ministers responsible for Higher Education in Europe reports an inconsistent development of lifelong learning strategies at the organisational level. It points out that the "most salient problem is the lack of integration of LLL provision in the general strategies, core processes and decision making of the institution". However, by 2008 it had become clear that the higher education sector would need to play a more proactive role in promoting lifelong learning. During a seminar on LLL organised at the Sorbonne in December 2007, the European University Association ('EUA') developed the *European Universities' Charter on Lifelong Learning* (EUA 2008). In autumn 2008, during the EUA conference at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam, the members signed the Charter. The signatories committed to a number of points that focus on strengthening lifelong learning in higher education – among these were: (a) growing educational services to accommodate new and returning learners; (b) validating all forms of prior learning; (c) the reinforcing of the dialogue with society; (d) strengthening partnerships with the region and (e) to fully integrate lifelong learning in the Universities' mission and strategy. The charter also proposed initiatives to be implemented by national and regional governments and partners. On November 26, 2008, the EUA presented the *European Universities' Charter on Lifelong Learning* at an encounter of the European Ministers responsible for higher education and/or VET.

In April 2009, the Ministers Responsible for Higher Education in 46 countries (incl. Switzerland) convened in Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve and sign the *Leuven Declaration* (Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education 2009), committing to a number of lifelong learning priorities, stressing that universities had to take a more active role in moving the EU's lifelong learning agenda forward (Viron *et al.* 2011, p.17). The message was clear – offering a handful of continuing education programmes was not enough anymore. HE was expected to play a major role in realising a Europe of knowledge and was to fully engage in widening participation and lifelong

learning (Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education 2009). Following are some of the principles:

- HE plays a key role in bringing about economic recovery and development through the integration of education and research at all levels;
- national LLL policies encourage LLL practices in HEIs;
- LLL policies recognise prior learning based on learning outcomes irrespective of how the knowledge, the skills or the competences have been acquired (formal, non-formal, or informal learning);
- HE has to face up to accelerated technological developments, new learning providers, and new types of learning;
- LLL is to be sustained through adequate organisational funding and structure;
- HE is a public responsibility, and HEIs, therefore, must be responsive to the needs of society;
- LLL calls for HEIs to engage in dialogue with society more intensively, forming solid partnerships with public authorities, the private sector, employer organisations, parents and students.

To summarise, the lifelong learning principles of Leuven Declaration and the EUA LLL Charter put pressure on Universities to move LLL to the heart of their mission.

5.1.3 EU funding increases pressure to move towards the lifelong learning university

The EU finances a number of projects with the aim of (1) map the status quo and progress of ULLL, (2) increase the participation of HEIs in LLL; and (3) develop an understanding of the barriers and enablers for universities to embrace continuing education and move from university lifelong learning to the lifelong learning university. The projects also aim at addressing the gap between lifelong learning policy-making at the EU and the national level and provide HEI leadership with information (e.g. reports, toolkits) on the ‘how’ of university lifelong learning. The most salient projects undertaken by EUCEN together with HEIs organisations between 2005 and 2016 include:

BeFlex (2005-2007): Learning about the status of ULLL in Europe

The BeFlex project (EUCEN 2007b) reported on the status of university lifelong learning (‘ULLL’) to the 2007 London Meeting of Ministers responsible for Higher Education of countries participating in the European Higher Education Area (Bologna Process). It involved data from 50 ULLL cases and showed the 'state of play' in ULLL. The report demonstrates that ULLL is low on the HEIs’ agenda

and makes recommendations.[18] It also proposed a discursive shift from 'university lifelong learning' (ULLL) to the 'lifelong learning university' (LLLU). Beflex is immediately followed-up by the BeFlex Plus.

BeFlex Plus (2008-2009): Mapping the progress of ULLL in Europe

BeFlex Plus (EUCEN 2009) demonstrated that the diversity of ULLL had grown due to the Bologna process opening up new possibilities. The report also made recommendations on how to move forward (EUCEN and Davies 2009), including the reflection on LLL at all levels of the organisation, research in the field of LLL, leveraging the tools promoted by the Bologna process (credit system, learning outcomes, recognition of prior learning). It also advocated widening access and flexible pathways, and it also revealed that the conception of ULLL had not yet become a key element of the mission of universities.

SIRUS (2009-2011): Responsive university strategies

Sirus (Smidt and Sursock 2011) identified framework conditions for the successful development of LLL activities, the two key prerequisites resulting to be funding and supporting legislation. The project also demonstrated that governments had been hesitant to take action on the commitments made in the EUA's Charter on Lifelong Learning (EUA 2008) and the Leuven Declaration (Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education 2009).

ALLUME (2009-2011): A lifelong learning university model for Europe

ALLUME (EUCEN 2012a) explored ways to increase the participation of HEIs in LLL by producing 'A Lifelong Learning University Model for Europe' (EUCEN 2011). The final report draws a clear and disappointing picture of the status quo of lifelong learning in Higher Education: no common understanding of ULLL, no genuine commitment from the HE leadership, and no clear vision of what has to be done.

COMPASS LLL (2010-2012): Collaboration on modernising LLL policies and strategies

COMPASS (EUCEN 2012b) analysed the status quo of university LLL strategy implementation processes at national, regional and institutional level while further the implementation of the *European Universities' Charter on Lifelong Learning* (European University Association 2008). The

[18] Recommendations: (a) work to develop ULLL policy and practice in universities should be intensified; (b) HEIs should give more room to ULLL in their mission and strategies and make use of the Bologna tools to promote ULLL; (c) HEIs should be aware of the potential of LLL to support organisational innovation; (d) staff development, especially when it comes to learning outcomes and recognition of prior learning, needs more attention and the expertise of ULLL staff should be leveraged; (e) best ULLL practice should be shared; (f) ULLL indicators should be developed; and (g) EUCEN should carry out further work to better understand enablers and barriers for ULLL acknowledging that HEIs are struggling with competing demands and are currently fully absorbed by other priorities (e.g. research excellence and the Bologna reform).

project also aimed to bridge the widening gap between the EU policy discourse and the actions in the field. Lack of funding was identified as one of the key challenges, pressing the need for new funding models. The report also called for universities to develop a common understanding for LLL and move from "rhetoric to reality across Europe" (EUCEN 2012c, p.12)

COMMIT (2013-2016): drivers for strategising the LLLU

COMMIT (Viron *et al.* 2015) addressed the social dimensions of ULLL, such as the issues of access, retention and attainment. The approach was found also to enhance the self-evaluation tools[19] (strategy process, strategy content, monitoring and benchmark) developed by ALLUME (EUCEN 2012a) and offered some policy 'reminders' by addressing the framework conditions for encouraging ULLL.

Generally, the focus of the projects has been on the 'what' and 'how' of implementing ULLL by providing reports, indicators and tools exerting normative pressures (that might also trigger some mimetic processes due to the overall uncertainty). But why HEIs should embrace ULLL and how they can reconcile the multiple (and sometimes conflicting) demands is rarely addressed – and although the enabling framework conditions (e.g. national policy and funding) are marginally touched upon, there is barely any mention of agency that can be deployed to influence these.

5.1.4 Gap between EU policy discourse and implementation

To give an overview: over the past years, the lifelong learning policy discourse has become sharper. Androulla Vassiliou, the 2010-2014 European Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth, has brought LLL back into the policy arena. The Commissioner had decided to make lifelong learning a reality rather than merely an official policy (Volles 2016), asking HEIs to play a more active role in LLL (Vansteenhuyse and De Jong 2012). Tibor Navracsics, the new Commissioner for Education, Culture, Youth and Sport (2014-) has followed in her footsteps. In 2015, the Yerevan Communiqué reaffirmed EHEA ministers' commitment to lifelong learning and widening participation in higher education with a strong emphasis on increased permeability between different education sectors, flexible learning paths and the inclusion of different types of learners, also through the recognition of prior learning. At the 2017 EU Leaders' meeting in Gothenburg, the

[19] The deliverables include: (1) a tool to identify key internal and external actors, steps of the strategy process and communication; (2) a tool to develop an overview of current LLL strategies and theirs social dimension, mission, vision and goals; (3) a benchmarking tool that included not only the 10 institutional commitments of the European Universities' Charter on LLL but also the social dimension indicators, inviting universities to benchmark their performance and engagement against these dimensions, and to define their objectives; (4) a tool for monitoring the attainment level; (5) a visit kit to assist the organisation of self-evaluation processes; and (6) policy reminders.

EU announced an increase for participation in lifelong learning from the 15% benchmarking target to an ambitious 25% by 2025 (European Commission 2017b, p.8) reaffirming the role of education as a driver for job creation, economic growth, social equality, as well as a means to experience European identity. And what is more, the latest Bologna Process Implementation Report (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2018), for the first time, puts significant emphasis on the role of HE in lifelong learning.

So where does LLL currently stand? The 2018 Bologna Process Implementation Report comments that the number of universities that have fully integrated LLL into the institutional mission and strategy is still disappointing (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2018, p.49), even if there is some progress. The European University Association's Trends Report, which is based on 451 HEI survey responses of from 46 countries, states that since 2003, the percentage of HEIs declaring that they have an overall lifelong learning strategy has gone up from 35% to 65% (Sursock 2015, p.67). Although the results do not mandate a change in ULLL participation or the number of programmes in higher education, it is an indicator that HEIs are gradually engaging with the theme. In fact, according to the report, HEIs with more than 25,000 students are 32% more likely to have a lifelong learning strategy. Generally, it can be said that ULLL varies significantly in scope and practice between the different European countries. Whereas university continuing education in Scandinavia has a pivotal role to play in providing widening access to the population, UCE in the UK is more focused on strengthening the dialogue between academia and the professional world, increase the innovative power and contribute to the knowledge economy. In France, the UCE discussion is more centred around the private benefit of continuing education (as opposed to the mere human capital aspect) and the inclusion of less traditional educational pathways and validation of prior learning. And in Switzerland, universities seem to be insecure about what the precise focus should be. The recognition of prior learning (formal, non-formal or informal), which has been addressed in several higher education policy documents, including the European Universities Charter on Lifelong Learning (European University Association 2008) is a concern as progress has been slow. While HEIs have been quite receptive to recognising prior formal learning, the recognition of prior informal and non-formal learning remains underexploited (Parveva *et al.* 2016, p.64), i.e. Universities have not made full use of validation for granting exemptions to access programmes (Cedefop 2015). So, despite the increasing ULLL offering, the growth in participation rates has not necessarily resulted in widening participation (Smidt and Sursock 2011). For that reason, it is essential to inquire who the recipients of ULLL are and if widening participation has been accepted as a function of ULLL (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2018).

To recap, the policy discourse calls for a paradigm shift imploring universities to move LLL to the heart their mission and evolve from 'university lifelong learning' to become 'lifelong learning universities' (LLLU) with all of the implications that it entails (see also section 5.2.3). Yet despite the fact that LLL remains a highly ranked idea on the policy agenda, it has failed to engender a visible transformational change in higher education institutions. In fact, the past years have failed to produce significant progress in implementing comprehensive LLL strategies in HEIs. There have been no incentives, and LLL has remained just one more item in the long modernisation agenda of Universities. However, considering that LLL has been picked up as a key theme by the Bologna Process, the normative – and to a certain extent coercive – pressure to engage with UCE has increased. Education monitors and ranking systems are likely to pick up on the theme.

5.2 Switzerland

Switzerland has a long-standing tradition of continuing education, and also reports one of the highest CE participation rates in Europe. This high participation is accompanied by a large number of providers with an extensive variety of education and training options. To have a better understanding of the context in which Swiss higher education institutions operate with their LLL activities, some background information is necessary.

5.2.1 Switzerland's economy and its higher education system

Switzerland is a federal state composed of 26 cantons with far-reaching autonomy and a population of 8.4 million (2018). The country is divided into four language regions: German (74% of the total population share); French (21%); Italian (4%) and Romansh (1%). With 25% foreign citizens, Switzerland has one of the highest proportions of foreigners in Europe. Switzerland has been a fiercely independent country since 1499 (apart from the short period of Napoleonic occupation 1798–1815), which might also partly explain why the Swiss population only became a member of the United Nations in 2002 and voted against joining the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1992. Although outside of the European Union, the Swiss economy is tightly intertwined with its neighbours as 54% (EDA 2016) of its goods and services are exported to EU countries. To increase its international competitiveness, despite the 'no' to the EEA, Switzerland has brought its economic practices mostly in line with EU rules engaging in bilateral negotiations which have resulted in bilateral agreements. From 1999, these agreements have included agriculture, air and road traffic, technical trade barriers, public procurement, security and asylum, Schengen membership,

cooperation in fraud pursuits, environment, media, care of the elderly, statistics, free movement of people (revoked in 2014[20]), and last but not least, science and education, aligning the country in many areas with EU regulations, directives and other acts.

Switzerland's economy is based on a highly-developed service sector (e.g. banking, insurance, trading, shipping, logistics, tourism) and high-end manufacturing and engineering (e.g. pharmaceuticals, biotech, machine tools, watches). The World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report has ranked Switzerland's economy as the most competitive in the world for several years in a row (WEF 2017), while the *Global Innovation Index* (Cornell University *et al.* 2017) also has put the country in the first place in terms the highest innovation output worldwide. Yet, the sluggish European economy, the sovereign debt crises, the end of the banking secrecy and the strong Swiss franc have weakened the country's growth outlook. The age of unlimited economic growth is over. Moreover, the Swiss popular vote against the free circulation of EU citizens to Switzerland[21] on February 16, 2014, put a damper on the relationship with the European Union. The European Commission retaliated the day after the referendum by suspending negotiations on the Confederation's participation as a full member in Horizon 2020, the world's largest research programme and suspended Switzerland from the Erasmus student exchange programme. The situation led to uncertainty among researchers and students. The universities had failed to see the repercussions and were in deep shock. Thanks to bilateral diplomatic discussions, Switzerland was able to re-join Horizon 2020 as a fully associated country in January 2017; however, the door to Erasmus has stayed closed.

The public Swiss higher education system[22] comprises of the two Federal Institutes of Technology and its ten cantonal universities, as well as seven universities of applied sciences and 17 universities of teacher education (pädagogische Hochschulen), the two latter categories being more practice-oriented. The higher education institutions offer bachelor, master's degrees and continuing education programmes, while the PhD studies can only be pursued in the 12 universities. These twelve Swiss universities represent a rather small scale and decentralised system: the largest university just

[20] On February 16, 2014, the Swiss voted to introduce quotas for migrants to Switzerland which violated the agreement on the free movement of people between Switzerland and the European Union on the free movement of persons which resulted in the renegotiation of the bilateral agreements.

[21] The referendum was launched by the conservative Swiss People's Party (SVP) and was accepted by a 50.3% on February 9. 2014. The initiative was mostly backed by rural and suburban Switzerland as well as by the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino, while urban centres and the French-speaking part rejected it.

[22] The private HE system plays a minor role and is generally not taken into consideration.

exceeds 20,000 students, while the majority of universities remains below the 10,000-student threshold and would qualify as small institutions in international comparison. However, the Universitas 21 report (Williams *et al.* 2018), which focuses on ranking the national higher system rather than single Universities, ranks Switzerland's higher education system second worldwide[23] after the US and before the UK.

As to the governance, since 2015, the Swiss University Conference (SHK – Schweizerische Hochschulkonferenz[24]) has been the supreme institution of higher education policy in Switzerland. It coordinates between the Confederation (federal state) and the Cantons, with the latter playing a major role for the ten cantonal universities in terms of funding and regulations (Der Schweizerische Bundesrat 2014b; Der Schweizerische Bundesrat 2014a)[25]. The SHK meets as a plenary assembly with representatives from all 14 university cantons. Swissuniversities[26] (the former Rector's Conference (CRUS)) is a participating member. The SHK is under the general responsibilities for research and higher education and part of the responsibility of the State Secretariat for Education and Research and Innovation (SERI) which is under the Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research (EAER). The SERI coordinates the entire Swiss HE sector. Its responsibilities include the preparation of the four-year strategic plans, support to cantonal universities, research funding through the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF) and international activities of Switzerland. It is located in the same department as the ETH Board, which steers the two ETHs, the ETHZ in Zurich and the EPFL in Lausanne.

[23] The country ranks first when it comes to resources, connectivity and knowledge transfer with the practice world firms and 10th for joint publications with industry. It comes second for joint publications with international researchers and fourth for output. Government spending on higher education as a share of GDP ranks 12th and expenditure per student third.

[24] The Swiss University Conference (SHK – Schweizerischer Hochschulkonferenz) is the supreme institution of higher education policy in Switzerland. In accordance with the Federal Constitution, it implements joint coordination in the Swiss higher education system of the Confederation and the cantons. The SHK meets as a plenary assembly or as a university council (representatives of 14 cantons). Specialist conferences, committees and commissions are responsible for specific tasks. The inaugural meeting took place on 26 February 2015. The reason for this is the Federal Act on the Promotion of Higher Education and Coordination in the Swiss Higher Education Sector, which came into force on 1 January 2015 and forms the working basis. The division of labor between the Confederation and the cantons, tasks and responsibilities are governed by the agreement between the Confederation and the cantons on cooperation in higher education.

[25] In 2006, the Swiss population voted to review the Swiss higher education law. The new law on the financing and coordination of the Swiss higher education sector went through a long process of consultation and was passed in 2011 (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 2011) taking effect on January 1, 2015. The new law gives the Confederation more coordinating powers and competencies.

[26] Swissuniversities: In 2015, the three former Rectors' Conferences – the CRUS for the Universities (Conférence des recteurs suisses), the KFH (Kammer Fachhochschulen) for the Universities of applied sciences and the COHEP (Conférence suisse des rectrices et recteurs des hautes écoles pédagogiques) for the Universities for teacher education – have been brought together into one association to become Swissuniversities. Apart from deepening the cooperation among the different higher education types, Swissuniversities has the following tasks: (1) take position on themes brought forward by the Swiss University Conference (SHK – Schweizerische Hochschulkonferenz) and submits applications to body on behalf of the universities; (2) it represents the interests of Swiss universities at national and international level; (3) it can take over federal mandates and assume responsibility for programmes or project management. The main task is the deepening and further development of cooperation among the different higher education types. Furthermore, through Swissuniversities the Swiss higher education institutions can speak as one voice, both nationally and internationally.

5.2.2 Development of LLL in Switzerland

5.2.2.1 Historical background: Origins of LLL in Protestantism and philanthropy during the 17th and 18th century

The historical development of continuing education in Switzerland goes back to the 17th and 18th century with the Protestant church and philanthropic institutions (e.g. Gesellschaft für das Gute und Gemeinnützige in Basel founded in 1777) organising adult alphabetisation programs. The 19th century saw the migration of the rural population into the cities which resulted in a growing need for a basic level of education for all social classes (Schläfli and Sgier 2014). During the 19th century, continuing education was typically supported by self-help worker organisations, for instance, the *Grütliverein*[27] (Grütli Union) as of 1838 (Arbeitsgruppe für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung Zürich 1980) or the *Kaufmännische Verbände* (Swiss Commercial Association) from 1850. Around 1920, university lecturers founded the first *Volkshochschulen* (evening schools). As is the case for a large part of the continuing education initiatives, the courses attracted people from the middle class. Working class elites continued to develop their own programs organised by trade unions and leftist political parties (Schläfli and Gonon 1999). In the 1950s and 1960s, the leisure-oriented evening classes (e.g. *Migros-Klubschulen*), which have their indirect roots in the social idealism of the 1920s and 1930s, also experienced a strong expansion. The 1960s were an important period for professional continuing education. In 1963, the Federal Law on Vocational Education (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 1963) was revised. Beside strengthening vocational education in general, it laid the groundwork for continuing education throughout a worker's career by supporting a wide range of training initiatives (e.g. organised by the Cantons, specialised schools, professional and industry associations) and technical colleges (later becoming the universities of applied sciences). The participants were primarily the non-academic elite such as primary school teachers, social workers, nurses and highly skilled workers. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the various professional and industry associations formed their own further educational centres (e.g. banks and insurance companies). The 1980s were marked by the radical technological change in industrial production entailing a boom in continuing education which benefited vocational schools, educational providers in the private sector and the training departments of larger companies. The fast growth of

[27] The Grütli Union was established in Geneva in 1838 by Johannes Niederer and initially was a discussion club for workmen. The name was taken from Rütli, the location where the Old Swiss confederacy initiated the Union. The body was initially focussed on education, but later started political activity, playing a leading role in the establishments of trade unions and health insurance.

continuing education continued throughout the 1990s (Schläfli and Sgier 2014) with new players and programmes entering the market. The last players to join the market in the late 1990s are the universities and technical colleges[28]. A special continuing education stimulus programme – the 'Weiterbildungsoffensive' (WBO)[29] (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1989) – adopted by the Swiss Parliament in 1989 was decisively important for the development.

5.2.2.2 Participation

In 2017, the proportion of persons aged 25 to 64 in Switzerland receiving some form of education or training in the four weeks preceding the Eurostat labour force survey (European Union 2018) averaged 32.2 %[30] greatly exceeding the 10.97% EU target putting the Swiss in first place followed by Sweden (2017: 30.4%) and Denmark (2017: 26.8%). By international comparison, it is particularly striking that Swiss HE graduates are 4.5 times more likely to participate in continuing education than those with no more than compulsory education. Although there is a fair amount of statistical data and indicators on continued education and training published by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (BFS 2014a; Cranmer *et al.* 2013; BFS 2014b), the European Union (e.g. Eurostat and the *European Education and Training Monitor* (European Union 2016)), UNESCO (2010), the OECD (2014) and the World Economic Forum (WEF 2017), it is challenging to extract meaningful data from these sources. A closer look conveys that there are constraints on longitudinal observations and general in-depth information (e.g. type of programme (formal vs non-formal), provider, level, certificate, costs) and also on international comparability, as the parameters and reference periods often differ. What is more, the data supplied by providers of continuing education and training (CET) in Switzerland is seen as inadequate (Wolter *et al.* 2014), the data on university continuing education not being an exception. As such, it is challenging to present a complete picture. Although the available indicators allow for some insights, they remain a crude yardstick, as there is little information about the periodicity, the intensity or the quality of CET activities. It is also worth mentioning that despite the existence of a few reports of varying depth and quality (Fischer 2014; Eggs *et al.* 2013; Cranmer *et al.* 2013; Schläfli and Sgier 2014; BFS 2014a; Wolter *et al.* 2014), there seems to be an absence of scientific publications about lifelong learning in Switzerland which shows

[28] These became the universities of applied sciences later.

[29] The official name of the initiative is "Sondermassnahmen zugunsten der beruflichen und universitären Weiterbildung sowie zur Förderung neuer Technologien im Fertigungsbereich (CIM)"

[30] The highest adult learning participation rates in Switzerland where registered in the end 90s and the beginning of the 2000s with 33.3% in 1998, 31.1% in 1999, 34.7% in 2000 and the 37.3% in 2001.

that it is still a marginal research topic (Schläfli and Sgier 2014; Fischer 2014; Universität Bern 2016).

5.2.2.3 Players

Due to the historical development and a nonregulated sphere, the Swiss continued education and training market is a rather dynamic and heterogeneous field. It is characterised by a range of private for-profit (70%) and public (non-for-profit) training providers (Wolter *et al.* 2014) of different sizes and orientations. Schläfli and Sgier (2014) estimate that there are a total of 2,500 market players and a market volume of CHF 5.3 billion (Wolter *et al.* 2014). Behind the context of the growing importance of job-related skills training, the 2010s have been characterised by fierce competition: some smaller and independent continuing education players have had to give up whereas some of the larger private and public providers have grown strongly, among those the universities of applied sciences (Schläfli and Sgier 2014; Wolter *et al.* 2014). Employers and training companies play a significant role in provision (45%) whereas private continuing education and training providers account for 17% of job-related training. Universities (incl. universities of applied sciences which represent a large part of the segment) only account for 7% of the continuing education activities (Wolter *et al.* 2014; Cranmer *et al.* 2013). The rapid evolution of learning technologies (LT), social media, connectivity and cloud computing, as well as new trends, such as the growing number of digital residents and the flipped classroom, are challenging the way programs are delivered and potentially broaden access to higher education and to lifelong learning. They give learners the opportunity to participate in education more flexibly – both in terms of time and in geography – and also opens up possibilities for linking informal, non-formal and formal education. Such evolution represents both a threat and a chance: the possibility of distance learning and the rise of English opens the Swiss market up for international participants, but also vice versa. The growing number of MOOCs and online distance-learning programs – often launched by for-profit institutions that specialise in part-time, mature students and are better at integrating e-learning – have the financial muscle to put HEIs under pressure. Furthermore, the challenging economic climate and increased workloads result in employers and employees frequently demanding more flexibility (e.g. blended learning or reduced face-to-face time), forcing HEIs to re-evaluate their mode of delivery and integrate new didactic approaches.

5.2.2.4 Governance

As to governance, continuing education and training (vocational education and training, tertiary level professional education and training and job-related continuing education and training) are regulated

both by the Confederation (Der Schweizerische Bundesrat 2014a; Schweizerischer Bundesrat 2017) and the Cantons (see Table 6, p. 79) with market principles playing a substantial role. There are laws at the federal and cantonal levels loosely governing continuing education, but there is no clear statistical data on financial flows, programme offerings, and attainment.

Table 6: Regulatory overview of continuing education in Switzerland (adapted from Universität Bern, 2016, p. 5)

Regulatory body	University continuing education	Other continuing education activities
Confederation	- Swiss Higher Education Act (HFKG; 2015) - Regulation on Continuing Education at the Swiss Federal Institutes of Technology (1989) - Ordinance on the Swiss Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training (Verordnung des Eidgenössische Hochschulinstitut für Berufsbildung; 2005)	- Federal law on continuing education (WeBiG; 2017) - Federal VET/PET (framework) laws - >50 special laws containing continuing education elements
Canton	- Cantonal higher education laws	- Cantonal continuing education laws - As part of cantonal VET/PET laws - CE as part of special legislation

In some Cantons (e.g. Berne), initiatives exist to ensure a minimum of coordination between different continuing education providers and initiatives. On the federal level, there are only a few inter-cantonal forums regrouping different sectors. The weak intra-organisational coordination within the field is a sign of its immaturity. As to university continuing education, representation is limited to Swissuni, an association (founded in 2002) that brings together the university continuing education departments of the different Swiss Universities (plus Liechtenstein). Its mission is the promotion of university continuing education in Switzerland and cooperation between the continuing education centres of the Universities. It also sees itself as a sparring partner for the Swissuniversities (Swiss Rectors' Conference) on questions of continuing education it has not got a dedicated committee for continuing education. However, the interviews show that Swissuniversities, the rectors and the regulatory bodies take a different stance here. Internationally, the European Union, the Bologna Process (European Higher Education Area) and the Copenhagen Process[31] have been exerting some normative pressure using different international comparative studies (e.g. UNESCO, OECD), reports (European Education and Training Monitor) and Charters (e.g. Lifelong Learning Charter) to push their agenda.

[31] The Copenhagen Process was launched at the meeting of the European ministers responsible for vocational education and training (VET) in November 2002. Its objective was to agree and sign a declaration for enhancing European cooperation in vocational education and training.

5.2.3 University continuing education in Switzerland

When it comes to University continuing education, not only do Universities hold a small market share (7%) (Wolter *et al.* 2014; Cranmer *et al.* 2013), but UCE also represents just a small percentage of HEIs' overall activities. However, the discourse and the numbers are indicating that this might change over the next decade. It is challenging to draw an accurate picture of university continuing education in Switzerland as the field is characterised by a wide range of cantonal, regional, thematic and cultural diversity, and little reliable data is available.

5.2.3.1 Weiterbildungsoffensive kicks-off university continuing education in 1999

As mentioned, the 1990s play a crucial role in promulgating university continuing education with the federal continuing education stimulus programme – the 'Weiterbildungsoffensive' (WBO)[32] (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1989) being an important impetus. Between 1990 and 2000, Swiss Universities received CHF 100 million to kickstart their continuing education activities. A large part of the sum went on the establishment of the UCE centres. Despite the lack of consecutive funding, by the mid-2000s, all 12 public Swiss Universities[33], had established themselves – at least to some extent – as a continuing education provider on the market, even if most Universities suffered a retraction when the federal funds, were exhausted. The Universities of Geneva and St. Gallen[34] were the only institutions to focus on setting up continuing education programmes that would be self-funded from the start (Reichert 2007). Some universities were quick to adjust to the reduced funding, yet others were forced to go through a period of consolidation for their continuing education programmes. Special successes or setbacks can be traced back to the work of single entrepreneurs among the professors or in the UCE centres. Since 1999, the primary challenge for universities has been to channel CE as far as possible into self-financing and secure its place in the institution.

5.2.3.2 Funding and governance

From a regulatory perspective, the legislation of UCE is challenging to locate, which also indicates its 'non-importance' in the political context. In fact, many interviewees cannot point to the locus of discussion. Swissuniversitites were named several times. However, those involved with

[32] The official name of the initiative is "Sondermassnahmen zugunsten der beruflichen und universitären Weiterbildung sowie zur Förderung neuer Technologien im Fertigungsbereich (CIM)"

[33] Basel, Berne, EPFL, ETHZ, Fribourg, Geneva, Lausanne, Lucerne, Neuchâtel, St. Gallen, Svizzera italiana, Zurich

[34] The University of St. Gallen (USG) is mostly a business school and has close ties with the business community, which is also demonstrated by the fact that USG has the highest grade of self-funding of all Swiss universities.

Swissuniversities do not see it as the organisation's role to advocate for LLL. The situation is also reflected in the consultation phase of the new Federal Law on Continuing Education (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 2014) which became effective in 2017. The private and semi-private providers which make up 80% of the continuing education market produced hundreds of position statements and lobbied for their interest. CRUS – the Rector's Conference (now Swissuniversities) produced one position paper which resulted in UCE 'escaping' the control of the new law. That means that the Swiss University Conference (SHK – Schweizerischer Hochschulrat)[35] continues to be responsible for defining the national UCE framework conditions through the Federal Education and Training Act (HFKG). As a result, ULLL remains under the Cantonal higher education laws and the Federal Swiss Higher Education Act (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 2015), which merely states that the SHK is responsible for defining national UCE framework conditions. The Federal Act on Funding and Coordination of the Swiss Higher Education Sector (HFKG) (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 2015) addresses university continuing education in only three points: (1) it is the role of the Swiss University Conference to ensure a uniform framework for all HEIs; (2) the SHK accredits university continuing education programs (art. 26); and that (3) Universities must avoid unfair competition with the free market (art. 3), which reflects the marketized environment. Universities generally do not receive any public funding for their continuing education activities unless these are used for the didactical and methodological continuing education activities of the scientific university staff, which might explain why several Swiss Universities have embedded the activity in their continuing education units. In a position statement on continuing education, the Federal Council expresses itself on the issue of funding:

> Subsidies are only available in areas where continuing education is desired but cannot be offered without public support. In the field of higher education, this is not the case – it is fundamentally self-sustaining and should remain so. One might consider creating a new legal basis, taking into account the number of participants in university continuing education as an additional factor for university funding. This would, however, have to be decided by the Swiss Higher Education Conference. Given the fact that the Universities are autonomous in the development of their education offering and that the cost of continuing education is covered by tuition fees, it is questionable whether this would create the right incentives. (Schweizerisches Bundesrat 2007)

[35] The Swiss University Conference (SHK – Schweizerischer Hochschulrat) is the supreme institution of higher education policy in Switzerland. In accordance with the Federal Constitution, it implements joint coordination in the Swiss higher education system of the Confederation and the cantons. The SHK meets as a plenary assembly or as a university council (representatives of 14 cantons). Specialist conferences, committees and commissions are responsible for specific tasks. The inaugural meeting took place on 26 February 2015. The reason for this is the Federal Act on the Promotion of Higher Education and Coordination in the Swiss Higher Education Sector, which came into force on 1 January 2015 and forms the working basis. The division of labour between the Confederation and the cantons, tasks and responsibilities are governed by the agreement between the Confederation and the cantons on cooperation in higher education.

Over a decade has passed, but the thinking is still valid. The Cantonal laws also play a role, even if there is little variation. The Canton of Geneva represents an exception. Thanks to the Cantonal Act on Continuing Education CE participants can receive an annual education grant for up to three consecutive years which adds up to CHF 2,250 (3 x CHF 750) which are indirect subsidies for HEIs.

5.2.3.3 Programmes

Universities offer a wide range of UCE programmes: the Master of Advanced Studies (MAS, at least 60 ECTS credits), the Diploma of Advanced Studies (DAS, at least 30 ECTS credits) and the Certificate of Advanced Studies (at least 10 ECTS credits) as well as shorter courses and customised programmes both face-to-face and increasingly online. The new Law on Continuing Education (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 2014) defines these programmes as 'non-formal education' as opposed formal education, such as the programmes leading to the Federal and Advanced Federal Diplomas Examinations (eidgenössischen Berufs- und Fachprüfungen), which are partly funded (participants receive 50% up to a maximum of CHF 9500 to cover continuing education costs) by the Confederation since the new Law for Continuing Education has come into force in 2017 (SBFI 2018). During the consultation phase, the Swiss Rectors' Conference had unsuccessfully argued against defining UCE as non-formal (CRUS 2012). One could argue that the VET sector has been more successful in lobbying for its interests, which is also reflected in the number of position papers.

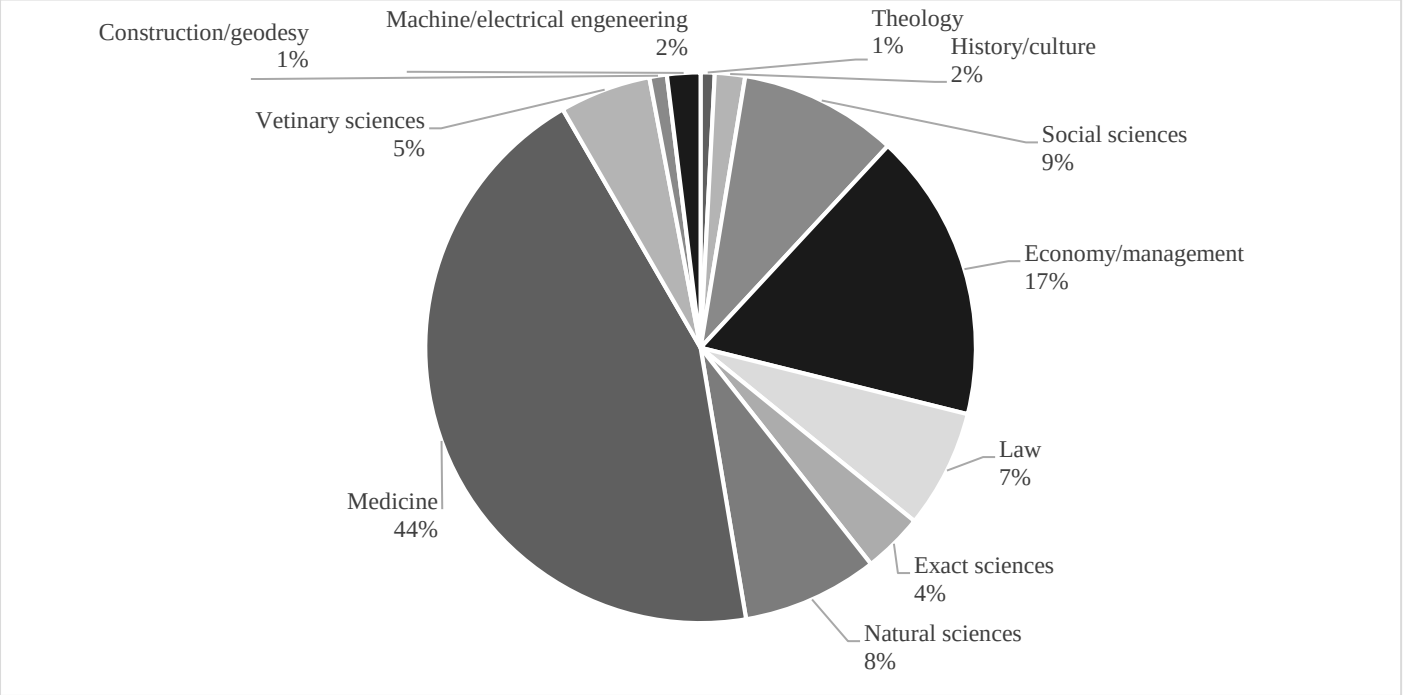
Surprisingly, although many Swiss universities have a high percentage of international students, the UCE programmes focus on a much smaller geographic pool, often only targeting the institution's own region. In some cases, the whole national market is taken into consideration, sometimes including the geographically close regions of neighbouring countries. Only a few UCE programmes target the international market.

The UCE activities vary considerably between the different academic disciplines. In some areas, for instance in medicine, psychotherapy or law,[36] professional bodies require registered professionals to attend a certain number of continuing education activities to maintain their licence. The objective is to sustain the quality of the sector. In the social sciences, EMBA-type programmes are popular, even if the market is competitive. Above all, the EMBAs have become a standard component of career

[36] In recent years specialist lawyer courses have been competitively tendered by the attorneys' associations, which the universities were able to apply for. The LLM is also established as a step on the career ladder of lawyers; However, these are preferably combined with a stay abroad and rather completed at foreign universities.

advancement and have, in the past, often been supported by employers. However, the willingness to provide such support is dwindling.

Figure 2: Total expenditure of Swiss Universities for continuing education by subject area/discipline



Source: Finanzen der universitären Hochschulen 2016 (BFS 2018)

5.2.3.4 Quality

A central theme that emerges over again is the quality standards in UCE. There are numerous concerns (e.g. diversity of formats, recognition of certificates/degrees, admission criteria, implementation of quality management systems, teaching and learning, common terminology, standardisation of the duration of programmes, statistics on lifelong learners) and different forces at play. Firstly, as opposed to the Bachelor, Master and PhD (academic degrees), the CAS, DAS and MAS / EMBA degrees are considered 'non-formal' training and therefore non-academic degrees[37] (SBFI 2016, p.6). This means that the titles are not protected. The lack of protection has resulted in a "programme jungle" (Angebotsdschungel) and "title confusion" (Titelwirrwarr) (Universität Bern 2016, p.16). The new Federal Law on Continuing Education (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 2014) has created an opportunity for the Confederation and the Cantons to support procedures that contribute to the comparability and transparency of programmes and degrees. However, the protection of titles remains a concern. Secondly, the UCE activities are

[37] A MAS is a non-academic degree, it does not automatically give access to a PhD programme.

not embedded in the main-stream master, bachelor and PhD programme structures and often seem more like a disjointed activity managed by entrepreneurial individuals on the periphery of the university. The sentiment often results in diverging practices. The question is if, in the race for legitimacy and reputation, UCE programmes will be increasingly pushed to participate in external quality assurance frameworks, rankings, accreditations and the like, even though the Universities are already accredited. Since 2016, it is, for instance, possible to go beyond the institutional accreditation by the Confederation and go for voluntary programme accreditation for programmes with 60 ECTS (MAS and EMBA) (Hochschulrat 2015).

5.2.3.5 Widening access

The theme of widening access in UCE triggers scepticism by Swiss universities. A recent report on the future of UCE in Switzerland (Universität Bern 2016) argues that universities will only open up slowly to non-traditional students, naming quality as a major concern. Also, universities interpret the creation or existence of the universities of applied sciences as a response to the institutional pressure of widening access (incl. the recognition prior learning)(Frey 2013). As a result, most Swiss universities fail to see a further need for action. However, universities will have to consider whether and how to respond to the increasing demand from non-traditional students. And it will be up to the Cantons and the universities, which have enough autonomy for some leeway, to decide on their widening access approach. The University of Geneva, which is influenced by French higher education culture, is an excellent example. Plus, depending on the disciplines the potential for widening access differs widely: it is highest in the social sciences and the humanities due to the Universities' educational monopoly position.

5.2.3.6 Data

Although Switzerland produces a fair amount of statistical data on continued education and training in general – such as, overall participation, type of providers and support by employers (e.g. BFS, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) – and there are additional indicators published by international organisations (see section 5.3.2.3, p.78), there is a lack of detailed information and indicators on lifelong learning in tertiary education. So far, the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) only requires HEIs to report on mature students who are enrolled in programs with 60 ECTS or more (Executive Masters or Masters of Advanced Studies). Consequently, there is a lack of information on CAS, DAS or other shorter programs as to number and types of programs, participants or dedicated resources. During the academic year 2014/2015, a total of 5,534 students were enrolled in some MAS (BFS 2017b) – which represents only a fraction of the mature students enrolled in UCE

programmes. However, from existing reporting, it can be calculated that, in 2016, an average of just over 3% of the overall budget of Swiss Universities was allocated to continuing education[38] activities and that the growth of university continuing education since 2000 has not been at par with the overall growth of student numbers (BFS 2018). Given the constraints, national and international comparability, as well as longitudinal observations are difficult (Wolter *et al.* 2014, p.260). It is uncertain why there appears to be a dearth of available data.

[38] The concept within the Federal and Cantonal reporting is 'continued' or 'continuing education[38]' (both expressions are used interchangeably), even if the European Union is trying to promote the wider concept of lifelong learning over education and training (European Union 2013, p.63).

6 Data Analysis and Findings

6.1 Introduction

The current chapter presents research findings from the exploratory case study of four universities on the main research question: How do Swiss Universities experience and respond to the institutional pressure of engaging in lifelong learning? The analysis will be guided by Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011) model on "Institutional Complexity and Organisational Responses". The first task will be to describe the field-specific institutional pressures (sources, meanings and degrees) to engage in university continuing education, while also considering other interlinked competing pressures. The next step will be to explain how the pressures are interpreted at both the meso and micro-level of the organisation. The step will be followed by a description of the array of strategic and structural responses and how these are influenced by organisational filters. Finally, there will be an exploration of implications for managerial UCE practice, specifically focusing on the major barriers and enablers for HEIs to become lifelong learning Universities. Throughout the chapter, the analysis will draw from both neo-institutional and resource dependence theory.

6.2 Overview of the four Swiss Universities

All four cases of this exploratory study are cantonal universities that were founded before the Swiss Federal State was created in 1848. As cantonal universities, 50-60% of their funding comes from the Cantonal governments and another 30-35% (mostly research funding) from the Confederation. Although they vary somewhat in size, all four HEIs are comprehensive universities that are well embedded in their respective regions. They all offer undergraduate and postgraduate studies in major subjects such as law, the social sciences, humanities, the natural sciences and medicine. Three out of the four HEIs consistently rank among the top 100 Universities worldwide[39].

6.2.1 University "A"

University "A" is mid-sized and located in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. It was founded several centuries ago and takes pride in outstanding research output. Almost half of the academic staff and over 40% of its student body come from outside of Switzerland. The university teaches in both in French and English and is embedded in its regional context. It has built strong relationships

[39] An average of the following rankings was used: Times Higher Education Ranking (2018), Shanghai Jiao Tong University Ranking (2017), QS Rankings (2018) and Best Global Universities Rankings (2018)

with the public, as well as the intergovernmental, the NGO and the private sectors. The university sees its continuing education offering as a key component to fulfil its social contract with government, business and civil society. In fact, the university's mission statement explicitly mentions the third mission and continuing education as a key component of it.

University "A" has a comprehensive continuing education strategy that is actively supported by the HEI's leadership team. A dynamic, central UCE team offers support in setting up continuing education programmes and provides expertise and marketing support. In return, the university withholds 7.5% (overhead tax, 2015) from programme income. Half of the sum is allocated to the 'Innovation Fund' for supporting the development and launch of new, innovative continuing education initiatives. The continuing education unit also oversees the universities distance learning activities, which have been integrated into the UCE activities lately. Since the mid-1990s, the number of UCE programmes has increased. Across the different faculties, the university offers over 100 diploma resp. certificate programmes (MAS, DAS, CAS) – the highest number among the four institutions, 20% of which are taught in English[40]. The UCE activities account for over 6%[41] (BFS 2017a) of the overall budget of University "A". In all four case studies, the enrolment fees do not cover the UCE costs. However, University "A" has the highest cost recovery of over 50% through fees. There are also a wide range of other lifelong learning activities that have high visibility as part of the university's engagement with external stakeholders. They range from non-diploma short courses, custom programmes, executive summer schools, MOOCs (not linked to UCE), conferences and public lecture series to third-age university and children's university.

Currently, University "A" has an absence of dedicated facilities for its UCE programmes. Regarding governance, there is a continuing education committee of faculty representatives and external experts. Their task is to serve as a body for reflection and consultation on strategic matters, for internal dissemination, for the review of proposed certifications and as a link to the outside professional and cultural communities.

The continuing education unit has active relationships with regional stakeholders and conducts a range of communication and marketing activities. The communications include a visible social media presence (Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Instagram) and a prominent presence on the

[40] With the exception of the University of St. Gallen, which is not a comprehensive HEI, but a business school.

[41] This includes internal trainings.

University's website. Until recently, the UCE section of the website was only available in French, even though approximately 20% of the programmes are offered in English. The situation reflects the fact that the UCE programmes are less internationally oriented than the other post-graduate activities. Nevertheless, during interviews for this dissertation, members of University "A" indicate they intend to internationalise.

The members of the continuing education team of University "A" are remarkably active boundary spanners. They are involved with Swissuni at the national level, part of the leadership team of EUCEN at the European level and regularly participate in ULLL conferences and other initiatives.

6.2.2 University "B"

University "B" is located in the German-speaking part of Switzerland and was established several centuries ago. Although it is also a comprehensive university, it is the smallest of the four higher education institutions in this exploratory study. It teaches in both German and English and fosters close links with the private sector in the region. More than half of the academic staff and a quarter of the student body come from outside Switzerland. Over recent years, the reduction of cantonal funding has been a central debate. In fact, in 2017 the university needed to realise significant savings through structural measures and drawing on reserves.

Since the continuing education stimulus programme – the 'Weiterbildungsoffensive' (WBO) (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1989) – of the late 1990s, University "B" has continuously grown its continuing education programmes. It devotes 3% of its overall budget to continuing education, which is proportionally the smallest of the four universities under review, and only half of University "A".

As opposed to the other three universities in this study, this HEI does not explicitly mention continuing education as part of its mission – nor does the Cantonal University Law. It is not surprising that the annual reports of the past years (2013-2017) fail to stress the university's commitment to the lifelong learning – in fact, the theme is almost absent from its discourse. UCE is only briefly mentioned in connection with employer requirements and the university's research profile.

The centre for continuing education employs a small team that provides administrative coordination between the different departments and faculties as well as advice on quality assurance and marketing

support. There are also a few classrooms dedicated to UCE. University “B” has a minimal social media presence in continuing education (Facebook, YouTube and Google+), with little engagement on those platforms. University “B” is also a member of Swissuni and EUCEN; however, does not appear to be an active one based on the interviews. The low priority of the lifelong learning theme is reflected in the absence of a university continuing education strategy, unclear roles, changing UCE leaders and shifting terminology. It is also important to note that University “B” offers a large number of continuing education activities (e.g. academic writing, academic publishing, project management) for internal staff, which creates financial opacity regarding cross-funding (see Table 7: Overview of the four Swiss universities, p.92).

6.2.3 University “C”

Founded in the 19th century, University “C” is located in the German-speaking part of Switzerland and mostly teaches in German. About one-third of the academic staff and one out of five students are from outside of Switzerland, which is the lowest rate among the four universities. The university is closely interlinked with the federal administration which has been subject to pressure to improve its international visibility and place in the academic rankings.

Although the Cantonal University Law from the 1990s does not mention UCE, however, the Canton’s new ‘performance mandate’ demands that the university play a key role in continuing education. In response, the mission statement of University “C” says that it must act upon the needs of the workplace to integrate continuing education into its approach.

The costs for continuing education represent approximately 6% of its overall budget, which is much in line with University “A” and “D”. The UCE centre of University “C” also offers higher education development programmes (e.g. didactics, research management, evaluation) for internal and external audiences. As in the case of University “B”; this creates opacity around UCE turnover and profit contribution.

Although it is not the largest HEI, University “C” ranks second in terms of participants (2,500 in 2016) and the number of CE programs (90 MAS, DAS, CAS and other short programmes). The university has a centre for continuing education with some actors who have been in the field since UCE first started in Switzerland. The team mainly provides admin support and advice to single programmes but also undertakes some research and outreach activities (e.g. conferences) in the field

of university continuing education. There are also a couple of classrooms reserved for UCE. University “C” is quite active in different CE networks in Switzerland (Swissuni) and Germany (DGWF), but less at the European level (EUCEN). This is not surprising given that University “C” is the least international HEI both in terms of academic staff and students.

While the head of the university continuing education centre is a full member of the CE commission and reports to the vice-rector for development, there seems to be ambiguity about the UCE centre’s position and profile within the university. UCE is only marginally mentioned in the university’s strategy documents. Interviews with the HEI leadership at University “D” reveal that UCE is far from a top priority. As a result, UCE initiatives are mostly driven by the programme directors and to a lesser degree by the continuing education centre.

As to communications and marketing, the continuing education centre has a small section on the main university website with scarce information beyond the actual programmes. Up to now, University “C” has failed to leverage social media to increase the visibility of its UCE activities.

6.2.4 University “D”

University “D” is also based in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. It was founded in the 19th century and is the largest of the four HEIs. Like Universities “A” and “B”, it is also ranked among the top 100 universities. One out of five students and almost half its academic staff are from outside of Switzerland. The Cantonal University Law mentions continuing education as part of the university’s mission (although it is somewhat ambiguous); however, it also explicitly mentions that these activities must be self-financed (exceptions can be approved by the university council). The latest university strategy moves UCE more to the forefront. It states that the university’s continuing education contributes to anchoring the HEI in the general public, and as such supports the university’s legitimacy. Nevertheless, there are some mixed signals. On the one hand, the university has invested into building up its lifelong learning activities (including children’s and senior university) and even has its own building for the UCE activities; on the other hand, there is only limited visibility for the UCE theme in official documents. There is no comprehensive UCE course catalogue, and little marketing or social media presence for UCE as a whole.

The CE centre is composed of a small team whose principal role is to offer administrative support and ensure that the rules and regulations are implemented, specifically when it comes to governance

and quality. Among all HEIs under review, University “D” is the only one to have a dedicated building for their continuing education programmes. As in the case of University “B”, the UCE activities cover a high number of internal continuing education activities (e.g. higher education didactics, leadership programmes) which explains the high rate of cross-funding (see Table 7: Overview of the four Swiss universities, p.92). For this reason, it is challenging to analyse the cost structure of the externally offered continuing education programmes.

The UCE centre has its own continuing education strategy. The strategy does not aim to change the status quo but rather confirms that the individual faculties oversee the development of their UCE programmes. The UCE centre mainly provides administrative support, with limited input on the strategic direction or development of programmes. During the interviews, learning technologies and e-learning were peripheral. Although quality is a major concern, several programme directors expressed frustration about adding unnecessary bureaucracy to an environment that thrives on an entrepreneurial approach.

Regarding boundary spanning, the UCE centre plays an active role in Swissuni, whose role will be further explored later in the chapter.

6.2.5 Overview of the key figures for university continuing education

The data in this section is based on publicly available information and interviews conducted with key stakeholders at all four universities between 2015 and 2018.

Table 7: Overview of the four Swiss universities[42]

University	University "A"	University "B"	University "C"	University "D"
University key data				
Founded in	15th/16th century	15th/16th century	19th century	19th century
Type	Cantonal university	Cantonal university	Cantonal university	Cantonal university
Cantonal University Law dating from	2000s	1990s	1990s	1990s
Overall expenditures in CHF	CHF 900-1'200 million	CHF 600-800 million	CHF 900-1'200 million	>1'200 million
Teaching languages	French/English	German/English	German/English	German/English
EUA membership	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Students				
Total number	15'000-20'000	<15'000	15'000-20'000	>20'000
% of international students	>40%	25-35%	15-20%	15-20%
Research				
% of overall budget	60-69%	50-59%	50-59%	50-59%
Employees				
Total number (Full-time equivalent)	<7'000	<7'000	<7'000	>7'000
% of international staff	>45%	>45%	<35%	35-45
Continuing education				
Legal framework				
University law mentions UCE as part of the mission	Yes	No	No	Yes
UCE programmes and courses				
UCE programmes and courses (MAS/EMBA, DAS, CAS, short programmes, conferences)	>150	50-100	100-150	100-150
Number of students who completed MAS/EMBA (min. 60 ECTS) (2016)[43]	>300	<200	>300	>300
% of UCE students (only programmes with 60 ECTS and more)	2.0-2.5%	1.0-1.5%	1.5-2.0%	0.5-1.0%
Financials[44]				
Costs for continuing education in % of total HEI budget	3-4%	<2%	3-4%	>4%[45]
Costs for continuing education covered by tuition fees in % of total UCE costs	>30%	>30%	<20%	<20%
Costs for continuing education covered by cross subsidisation	<10%	50-70%	50-70%	>70%

[42] The sources of information are Swiss Federal Statistical Office Office (BFS 2018) and the institutional websites of the four universities.

[43] The Federal Office for Statistics demands universities to only report on programmes that award 60 ECTS and more. It is difficulty to have an overview of the overall UCE activities.

[44] Note that due to internal cross-funding there is high opacity regarding the UCE costs.

[45] In this case, the costs of the dedicated infrastructure increase the costs considerably.

University	University "A"	University "B"	University "C"	University "D"
from HEI in % of total UCE costs				
Overhead tax	Yes	Under discussion	Yes	Yes
Strategy, governance and structures				
UCE strategy	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
UCE commission	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
UCE centre reports to	Vice-rector education	Vice-rector education	Vice-rector development	Vice-rector education
Dedicated UCE teaching infrastructure	No	Some classrooms	Some classrooms	Yes
UCE centre also covers HE didactical activities	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Programmes and activities				
MAS/EMBA, CAS, CAS 10-60 ECTS	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Short programmes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Executive summer school(s)	Yes	Yes	No	No
Conferences	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Custom-programs (ex. with external organisation such as the confederation or corporations)	Yes	No	No	No
Distance education using e-learning (position on Bates' continuum) – excluding medicine	Yes	No	No	Yes
Communication and marketing				
Website	Comprehensive and attractive section of the main HEI website	Small section of the main HEI website with little information outside of programmes	Small section of the main HEI website with scarce information outside of programmes	Small section of the main HEI website with scarce information outside of programmes
Website language	French & English	German & English	German	German & English
Social media	Strong presence and large number of followers (Face-book, Twitter LinkedIn)	Weak presence (Facebook, Youtube, Google+)	None	None
Course catalogue	Yes	No	No	No
Special magazine	No	Yes	Yes	No
Memberships in LLL networks				
Stated publicly (e.g. Website)	Yes	No	No	No
EUCEN (Europe)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
European Distance and E-learning Network (EDEN) (Europe)	Yes	No	No	No
Swissuni (Switzerland)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Deutsche Gesellschaft für wissenschaftliche Weiter-bildung und Fernstudium (DGWF) (Germany)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

6.3 Origin, meaning and degree of institutional pressure to engage in continuous education and how the HEIs experience it

The analysis of the empirical data reveals that although all three types of isomorphic pressures (coercive, normative, mimetic) can be observed, mimetic isomorphic processes appear to be dominant due to the high degree of insecurity around the UCE/ULLL theme. The strong normative pressure from the EU rarely penetrates the walls of the Swiss HEIs. There is little to no coercive pressure from at the EU, at the national or the cantonal level – except in the Universities "A" and "D" where the Cantons demand some involvement in UCE. Moreover, the interpretation of the institutional pressure for the university to engage in continuing education varies between the meso and the micro level, and from one group to another. Within the organisation, the emerging patterns lead to four clusters: (1) the HEI leadership (rector and vice-rectors), (2) the faculty members not involved in UCE, (3) UCE programme directors (academics) and (4) UCE senior administrators. These results confirm the value of going beyond of the university as a single entity and deconstructing it into sub-groups.

Before unpacking the UCE theme, it is valuable to take a step back and to ensure a systemic approach. It is important not to isolate the UCE theme from other pressures that HEIs are exposed to (e.g. knowledge transfer, outreach, employability and digitalisation) as continuing education has the potential to be a transversal component in addressing some of the demands.

6.3.1 Overall institutional complexity as perceived by the HEIs (meso level)

The interviews confirm that the leadership of the HEIs had a good grasp of the overall trends and institutional complexity in the field (e.g. widening access, employability, innovation and knowledge transfer, funding, internationalisation, digitalisation, marketisation[46]). However, there are also signs of uncertainty. While coercive demands (e.g. from the Canton) are perceived as tacit, normative pressures (e.g. from the European level) and pressures leading to mimetic processes are perceived as diffuse and difficult to 'put the finger on'. One rector explains:

> In Germany, the new model was adopted by the top management of the universities more or less uncritically. This means that the typical constellation in Germany is that the rector argues in the market logic and the professors in the academic logic. In Switzerland, there is some resistance, also because we have a strong consensus-based tradition. And I would say, yes – there is an implicit awareness at the top

[46] For a more comprehensive overview see Table 8: Overview of institutional pressures (in alphabetical order), p. 103.

> leadership level of the universities that we are struggling with different interests. Whether everybody always fully grasps the meaning of this development, I doubt it. But I think there is a widespread recognition that we are in a dilemma. Some choose to go in the direction of innovation, others in other directions.

The institutional complexity is perceived, but it is uncertain how little reflexivity the higher education leadership applies to fully explore available options.

1.1.1.1 Bologna Process

Several HEI leaders also name the Bologna Process (1999) as a sea-change in Swiss higher education that has ushered in the postmodern university. The interviewees stated that the implementation of the process had been demanding and energy-draining for their HEIs and that it had not been completely "digested". Switzerland was among the first countries of the EHEA to fully implement the modular system (Bachelor, Master, Doctorate)[47]. However, Switzerland opted to avoid an in-depth contents reform, i.e. although the three-cycle system (bachelor, master and doctorate) was fully implemented, a bachelor's degree is generally not considered to be a satisfactory degree level. Students are expected to go on completing their studies with a master's degree. One rector argues:

> In fact, Switzerland has bypassed Bologna. Here, more than in other countries, the architecture of Bologna is more of a visual repackaging than a contents reform. Strictly speaking, there has been no substantive adaptation of the curricula. People continue to study according to a consecutive model. Also, in terms of modularity, most people in Switzerland study what they started on their first bachelor day at the end of their master's education. In this reading of the world, although every type of education after the master's is welcome, university continuing education is basically – I'm exaggerating now – actually, a foreign body, that is not part of the university.

The fact that Master programmes at Swiss universities are, as a rule, exclusively full-time confirms the thesis. Moreover, lifelong learning has been almost absent from the Bologna Process, even if this has changed in recent years. In fact, the 2018 *Bologna Process Implementation Report* (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2018) has integrated lifelong learning as a key theme.

1.1.1.2 Expansion, marketisation, rankings, digitalisation, …

[47] The Bologna Process proposes broad guidelines for convergence in the European HE sphere and therefore leaves sufficient room for keeping national specificities.

Other factors named by the interviewees that contribute to institutional complexity include growing student numbers[48] (although still limited in Switzerland) as well as the resulting challenges as to quality, class size and teaching load. Marketisation is a concern, especially when it comes to rankings, the competition for students (in the international arena or in fields where universities of applied sciences are active, e.g. continuing education) and the increasing need for professional communication/marketing. And rectors complain about the rise of managerialism and a growing audit culture.

Funding, despite the increasing student numbers, has not emerged as one of the most pressing concerns, probably since Swiss HEIs are still among the most well-funded universities worldwide. However, even Swiss universities are seeking to diversify their income streams, for instance through fundraising (von Schnurbein and Fritz 2014).

Internationalisation, innovation and technology transfer have ranked high on the Swiss HEIs' agenda for decades and seem to have been fully absorbed into their DNA, i.e. they are not perceived as new demands. Nonetheless, some interviewees mention the challenge of managing the regional – international tension. Reconciling internationalisation with the demand to stay highly relevant to the local and national context is becoming more of a dilemma.

Other demands include widening access[49], continuing education and digitalisation[50]. These fall into the category of normative pressures or pressures leading to mimetic processes and present sense-

[48] In Switzerland, the number of students attending tertiary education has tripled in the past 25 years reaching 249,000 in 2016 (BFS 2017b) while the spending in tertiary education doubled from CHF 3.9 billion in 1995 to CHF 8.0 billion in 2015 (BFS 2017a) These numbers include all three types of tertiary education institutions in Switzerland: universities, universities of applied sciences and universities of teacher education. As HE is almost entirely subsidised by the State (the case for most EU countries), this 'massification' has been accompanied by financial concerns and preoccupations about preserving quality within the system.

[49] Widening access to higher education has been a concern on the European political agenda for the past 25 years. Although the nature and speed of innovation, technological developments, globalisation, demographic trends and environmental change take different forms across Europe, these changes impact traditional jobs negatively. As the shift towards knowledge economies has been happening, the political bodies and the job market have been claiming that the skills gap is widening (European Commission 2016; Damoc 2017; OECD *et al.* 2016; Moldoveanu and Narayandas 2016) calling for improved employability. Higher education institutions are expected to play a significant role in increasing the employability of the workforce in the face of ongoing the ongoing changes through producing graduates that fit the job market and upscaling of the existing labour force. Consequently, there has been an unparalleled increase in student numbers that has been termed 'massification'. In Switzerland, the number of students attending tertiary education[49] has tripled in the past 25 years reaching 249,000 in 2016 (BFS 2017b) while the tertiary education spending doubled from CHF 3.9 billion in 1995 to CHF 8.0 billion in 2015 (BFS 2017a)[49]. As HE is almost entirely subsidised by the State (the case for most EU countries), this 'massification' has been accompanied by financial concerns and preoccupations about preserving quality within the system.

[50] Over the past two decades, digital innovations have disrupted established industry sectors such as entertainment, media and retail. As to education, it has only been in the past five to ten years that the change has accelerated. Although digital technologies are not going to lead to the disappearance of campus-based universities, Universities will have to rethink the campus experience they offer, i.e. they will have to ensure a rich, on-campus experience. The growing amount of readily available online knowledge and the mass expansion of access to university education will entail fundamental changes in how the knowledge is produced and delivered. What is more, this process will also question the role of universities as the only place of knowledge production and diffusions. Existing and new public and private providers will focus on separate parts of the value chain (debundling), and the new technologies will make it easy for media companies to enter the HE sector. The so-called Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) are good example of the exploration for new business models. Inevitably, some models will fail; but others will be successful and generate income. The increasing availability of online knowledge will question the role of HEIs as the only originators and keepers of knowledge.

making challenges to most interviewees, both in terms of the origin of the institutional pressures and their meaning. Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) present a good example: although there is no regulatory pressure, no funding, no business model and their realisation is complex and costly, Universities "A", "B" and "C" have become active in the 'MOOCs business', mimicking other HEIs that they consider highly legitimate in the field (e.g. EPFL). Uncertainty thus becomes a powerful force that results in growing homogeneity. However, the extent to which HEIs have understood that digitalisation will be a huge game changer is unclear. Digitalisation raises the question of widening access for non-traditional students and validation of prior learning/experiences, which are important themes for UCE as well. The interviews and the desk materials show that Universities "B", "C" and "D" do not see widening access and validation as part of their mission and place the responsibility for this role on universities of applied sciences. By contrast, University "A" considers widening access as an important element of their mission. As such, it is also anchored its Cantonal University Law. The rector of University "A" reasons that the university is "closer to France than to the rest of Switzerland", i.e. the closeness to the French academic culture plays a role here. An external university higher education expert states:

> The university as an institution is struggling with the validation of non-formal and informal learning. Because, first of all, this means that the university is no more is the only place where knowledge is produced – and it is no more the only place where knowledge is diffused, shared and so on. This means that universities have to revise their role, reorganising or restructuring how the different pieces of knowledge production come together. Because that knowledge will have been produced in different places or diverse ways. So, for me, that is a dramatic change. I am not sure if we (by "we", I mean all the academics) are aware of this change. Some of them are, and they are trying to change. And this change obviously will also affect adult learners.

Taking a systems approach, we can argue that the general institutional complexity as described in Chapter 6.3.1 (p. 94) in many cases can be seen in connection with lifelong learning, i.e. lifelong learning can be reframed as a transversal theme supporting HEIs in fulfilling their social contract (e.g. widening access, employability, knowledge transfer, digitalisation).

On the next pages, Table 8 provides an overview of the different institutional pressures that Swiss HEIs are exposed to. The overview does not only show the origin of the pressure (e.g. EU), but also identifies its meaning and the type of isomorphic processes it leads. Moreover, it offers an interpretation of the meanings and effects of the different institutional pressures, and how seemingly unrelated demands can potentially be linked to ULLL.

Table 8: Overview of institutional pressures (in alphabetical order)

[a]Degree of pressure: X = strong; (X) = moderate; – = none

Institutional pressure	Origin of pressure	Type/degree of institutional pressure[a]			Resources (public funding)	Meaning and effects of institutional pressure(s)		Link with 3rd mission	Data sources[51]
		Coercive	Normative	Mimetic		Higher education institutions (in general)	HEI's continuing education activities		
Continuing education	Field	–	(X)	X	No	EU exerts tacit normative & minor coercive pressure to engage in ULLL, whereas there is no coercive pressure from the national CH & little pressure from the cantonal regulatory bodies to increase UCE (note different meanings) provisions – Little to no coercive pressure and high insecurity around the theme is leading to strong mimetic processes – Fuzzy identity of UCE activities increases insecurity of position in market (e.g. UAS) – Strong tendency of HEI to keep UCE as a separate theme (thus decoupling) instead of seeing the opportunity to reframe UCE as a transversal theme linked to the third mission.	(see left)	X	<u>Primary data:</u> – Interviews inside HEIs & a small number of policy bodies <u>Secondary data:</u> – EU and CH policy documents and reports – Legislative & regulatory documents at EU, CH and cantonal level – HEI Strategy and Communication materials – EU and CH statistical data – Literature
	Regulatory bodies								
	– *EHEA*	(X)	X	–	No				
	– *Swiss (CH) national level*	–	–	–	No				
	– *Swiss (CH) cantonal level*	(X)	–	–	(No)[52]				
Digitalisation	Field	–	(X)	X	No	Digital technologies are transforming the way education is delivered, changing the HE value-creation chain – Major impact on teaching and learning – New market entrants (e.g. media companies) will lead to debundling and specialising in parts of the value chain (e.g. content generation, content aggregation, mass distribution, certification, commercialisation) – End of era in which HEIs were the only knowledge producers – Growth of distance learning will eliminate geographical boundaries, resulting in international competition.	Digitalisation has major impact on delivery, teaching and learning of UCE – Market is potentially global – MOOCs can be linked to ULLL discourse	X	<u>Primary data:</u> – Interviews inside HEIs <u>Secondary data:</u> – EU and CH policy documents and reports – Literature
	Regulatory bodies								
	– *EHEA*	(X)	X	–	No				
	– *Swiss (CH) national level*	X	(X)	–	Yes				
	– *Swiss (CH) cantonal level*	(X)	(X)	–	No				
Employability	Field	–	X	(X)	No			X	

[51] For a detailed overview of the analysed desk-top materials, go to Table 3, p. 23.

[52] The Canton of University "A" offers some indirect financial support available to UCE participants.

Institutional pressure	Origin of pressure	Type/degree of institutional pressure[a]			Resources (public funding)	Meaning and effects of institutional pressure(s)		Link with 3rd mission	Data sources[51]
		Coercive	Normative	Mimetic		Higher education institutions (in general)	HEI's continuing education activities		
	Employers	–	X	(X)	No	Producing graduates fit for the job market and upscaling of existing labour force (knowledge-led economy). – Deeper relationships with practice world – Focus on practice orientation and skills – Provision for mature students	HEIs' UCE activities have a role to play in ensuring employability when it comes to mid-career professionals		Secondary data: – EU policy documents and reports – EU statistical data – Literature
	Regulatory bodies								
	– *EHEA*	(X)	X	–	No				
	– *Swiss (CH) national level*	X	–	–	Yes				
	– *Swiss (CH) cantonal level*	X	–	–	Yes				
Funding	Regulatory bodies					Massification has been accompanied by governments allocating increased funding to HEIs (even if per-student funding has decreased). – Increased accountability and audit culture – Introduction/increase of tuition fees (education as private vs public good) – Pressure to differentiate funding sources – Changing social contract	National CE policies consider UCE as 'non-formal' training and not part of the taxpayers' duty – Lack of lobbying (vs UAS and professional associations) – Know-how of UCE actors concerning alternative funding and market logics can be leveraged		Primary data: – Interviews inside HEIs & a small number of policy bodies Secondary data: – EU and CH policy documents and reports – EU statistical data – Literature
	– *EHEA*	(X)	X	–	Yes				
	– *Swiss (CH) national level*	X	–	–	Yes				
	– *Swiss (CH) cantonal level*	X	–	–	Yes				
Innovation and knowledge transfer	Field	–	X	(X)	No	Intensify research and knowledge transfer to strengthen role of universities as drivers of innovation and growth (strong focus on entrepreneurship). – High expectations as to research output – Scale and depth of industry-based learning and internship – Entrepreneurial activities, for instance in terms of start-ups	UCE can contribute significantly to knowledge transfer and liaising with practice world	X	Secondary data: – EU and CH policy documents and reports – EU and CH statistical data – Literature
	Regulatory bodies								
	– *EHEA*	(X)	X	–	Yes				
	– *Swiss (CH) national level*	X	–	–	Yes				
	– *Swiss (CH) cantonal level*	X	–	–	(Yes)				
Internationa-lisation	Field	–	X	(X)	No	Study and research are no longer limited by national boundaries resulting in new opportunities. However, some see trend as assault on national culture and autonomy (local-global tension). – International mobility of academics and students – Field is becoming increasingly global – Growing competition – Rise of English as the dominant language	Field is becoming increasingly international; need for alignment of national LLL policies – Recognition of prior learning – Implementation of qualification framework		Secondary data: – EU and CH policy documents and reports – EU and CH statistical data – Literature
	Regulatory bodies								
	– *EHEA*	(X)	X	–	Yes				
	– *Swiss (CH) national level*	X	X	–	Yes				
	– *Swiss (CH) cantonal level*	(X)	(X)	–	No				
Marketisation	Field	–	X	(X)	No				

Institutional pressure	Origin of pressure	Type/degree of institutional pressure[a]			Resources (public funding)	Meaning and effects of institutional pressure(s)		Link with 3rd mission	Data sources[51]
		Coercive	Normative	Mimetic		Higher education institutions (in general)	HEI's continuing education activities		
	Regulatory bodies					Demand and supply of education, academic research and other university activities are balanced through market mechanism with student satisfaction becoming the central imperative. – Development towards a system based on business ideals with focus on productivity and efficiency (managerialism) – Rankings becoming a central driver – Student as a consumer	UCE activities tend to be strongly marketised due to self-funding, resulting in experience with innovative formats and student-centred learning – Leverage knowledge outside of UCE		Primary data: – Interviews inside HEIs Secondary data: – Literature
	– *EHEA*	(X)	X	–	No				
	– *Swiss (CH) national level*	X	X	–	No				
	– *Swiss (CH) cantonal level*	X	X	–	No				
Widening access	Field	–	X	(X)	No	Increase the percentage of population with HE attainments to provide a skilled workforce for the knowledge economy; this includes under-represented groups such as students from lower-income families, people with disabilities, ethnic minorities and mature students. – Massification – Provisions for non-traditional students (incl. mature students) – Concerns with funding and maintaining high quality	There is a role for UCE to play in meeting expectations for HEIs to open up to mature and untraditional learners; need for: – Recognition of prior learning – Implementation of qualification framework	X	Primary data: – Interviews inside HEIs & a small number of policy bodies Secondary data: – EU and CH policy documents and reports – Legislative & regulatory documents at EU, CH and cantonal level – HEI Strategy and Communication materials – EU and CH statistical data – Literature
	Regulatory bodies								
	– *EHEA*	(X)	X	–	No				
	– *Swiss (CH) national level*	(X)	(X)	–	No				
	– *Swiss (CH) cantonal level*	(X)	(X)	–	No				

6.3.2 University continuing education: origin, meaning and degree of institutional pressure to engage in university continuing education

6.3.2.1 University leadership: high degree of uncertainty

1.1.1.2.1 Weak coercive and only moderate normative pressures

As 'chief boundary spanners' between the university and outside world (field, national political discourse and civil society), the top leadership of all four universities is to a certain extent aware of the university continuing education discourse. However, despite a rather sharp EU LLL discourse, the normative (and weak coercive) pressure (see 5.2.2) is not perceived. This might be partly due to the Swiss State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation (SERI) not passing on the pressure. A SERI member sums up the position at the national Swiss regulatory level:

> The Leuven Declaration is merely an expression of political willingness. For example, I was at the Yerevan Bologna Meeting[53] this year. There, the ministers attending are told that lifelong learning is an important issue – and that there needs to be some kind of statement as well. And when there is a statement like that [Leuven Declaration], I perceive it as a guideline to try to prevent everybody from going wild and running off in different directions.

The analysis of the secondary data demonstrates that despite weak coercive pressure, the normative pressure is not only strong, but also is, the EU's strongest weapon. The European Union leverages networks, indicators, conferences, benchmark reports and declarations of intention to persuade HEIs to conform. However, the interviews reveal that the neither the EU's coercive nor its normative pressure hardly ever reaches the Swiss HEIs. At the best, it is the normative pressure that is perceived by those UCE senior administrators in close contact with the European level. Only a few of the other interviewees[54] are aware of the European Universities' Charter on Lifelong Learning Charter (European University Association 2008), the Leuven Declaration (Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education 2009), or any of the EU-funded university lifelong learning projects reports produced by EUCEN (see 5.2.3). Moreover, the fact that continuing education activities play no role in any of the important rankings is another reason that the theme is low on the HE leadership's agenda. To summarise, the interviews and the secondary data show there is a very limited number of channels through which the EU's pressure to engage in LLL penetrates the boundary of universities; and if it does, the pressure normally does not enter the

[53] The Ministerial Conference in Yerevan (May 2015) brought together the European Commission, EHEA delegations as well as the Bologna Process consultative members and partners.

[54] The interview questions were provided to the interviewees in advance.

organisation through the senior HE leadership, but mostly through the UCE senior administrators. A senior manager of EUCEN confirms:

> Most of the people actively participating in EUCEN meetings tend to be UCE specialists from the technical core of HEIs and not the university leadership. The capacity to have an impact or to influence the strategy of the university is then quite limited.

As to the Swiss national policy level, both interviews and secondary data indicate there is hardly any coercive nor much normative pressure to engage in UCE. The rector of University "B" states:

> Lifelong learning or continuing education is an interesting theme to deconstruct. I perceive a certain form of duplicity ("Doppelzüngigkeit"). And this duplicity may be a sign of uncertainty as to the expectations towards universities within the regulatory structures. It touches both the EU and the Swiss policy discourse – if there is such thing as a Swiss discourse. Universities must increasingly position themselves to compete, and it is a global competition. Now, in this global competition, continuing education or lifelong learning plays no role.

In fact, the theme of UCE is practically absent at the national policy level. Not only does Switzerland benefit from low unemployment, but it also has one of the highest CE participation rates and a well-developed dual VET system. There are plenty of players (see 5.3.2.3, p. 78) offering CE programmes. However, at the cantonal policy level, with each Canton having its own University Law, the expectations concerning UCE diverge. In the case of University "A", UCE is clearly stated in the Cantonal University Law, whereas in the case of University "D", UCE is mentioned in a side-line, leaving much ambiguity. As to Universities "B" and "C", there is no mention of UCE in the University Law.

Taking into consideration the history of UCE in Switzerland, there have been mixed signals both from the regulatory bodies and the market over the past 25 years. On the one hand, there was the federal continuing education stimulus programme – the *Weiterbildungsoffensive* (WBO)[55] (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1989) – of the 1990s that had made resources available for the HEIs to develop their continuing education offering. Despite a lack of consecutive funding, the 2000s were marked by a CE boom (from which the universities also benefited) and the entrance of universities of applied sciences into the field. This has resulted in mixed signals and various interpretations of university continuing education contributing to the existing uncertainty.

One rector interprets his own reading of the 'non-pressure':

[55] The official name of the initiative is "Sondermassnahmen zugunsten der beruflichen und universitären Weiterbildung sowie zur Förderung neuer Technologien im Fertigungsbereich (CIM)"

> The separation between what belongs to basic education ("Grundbildung") and continuing education is more rigid in Switzerland than in other countries. And the rigidity in this separation ultimately has to do with our understanding of the role of the State. Basic education – the Swiss consider both academic and vocational training as basic education – is the mandate of the State. It is not always easy to explain that we have two governance structures that can levy taxes: the Cantonal and the Federal government. But these are Swiss peculiarities. Swiss taxpayers could potentially agree with part of their tax money being spent on continuing education. But if they discover that their tax money gives a continuing education provider a competitive advantage, they will say "no". They don't want UCE providers to make profit with their tax money, i.e. government subsidies. Generally speaking, in Switzerland, there is strong resistance against political institutions to intervene in the mechanisms of the labour market. And the central point here is that continuing education is seen as a theme of the labour market and not of education.

This also explains why the new law on continuing insists that CAS, DAS and MAS / EMBA degrees are considered 'non-formal' training and are therefore non-academic education and not part of the taxpayers' duty. To sum up, there is little to no coercive pressure – except in the case of some regulatory demands from the cantonal level for University "A" and "D". And the normative pressure deriving from the EU level is mostly not perceived by the higher education leadership.

1.1.1.2.2 Strong mimetic isomorphism

Generally speaking, the rectors and vice-rectors perceive a high degree of uncertainty surrounding the UCE theme, which tends to result in mimetic isomorphic processes, copying other institutions and muddling through, as opposed to, coordinated manoeuvring to gain an advantage. One vice-rector states:

> I also wonder if a university should just naively ("blauäugig") launch itself into this [continuing education] business? But there is, of course, the competition. In the past, the borders [of the ivory tower] were closed, and we wouldn't have had to deal with these challenges. Once the first university opens its gates and demonstrates to the politicians that we are worth all of this funding, the politicians will, of course, say: yes, this is what makes a great university. And then the rector thinks, if we don't do the same, we have an issue. And the rector is right here. So that is how the universities come under pressure to follow each other. Switzerland is an excellent example.

Striving for legitimacy, consequently, results in strong mimetic isomorphism. But which course of action is to be taken? The HEIs are becoming more nervous as the number of CE providers increases, and the universities of applied sciences have claimed a big piece of the continuing education pie. Another vice-rector explains:

> I don't find that the pressure [to engage in continuing education] is particularly strong. Rather, the universities are reacting to the competition of the universities of applied sciences – they have been

> growing fast in this area. And I believe that this is being closely watched by our continuing education experts and the university leadership.

He continues:

> This is institutional imitation. All universities copy from each other. The fact that we are now into strategy making and have a mission statement – this is all imitation. From a sociological viewpoint, I could explain this through normative and mimetic isomorphic processes that we are pressured into. We imitate the governance structure, the programme structure – everything is becoming clear to me now. I actually think that I am succumbing to the same pressures. [Laugh] However, I do not think that continuing education has much weight in the activities of a university yet.

To sum up, the interviews and the secondary data indicate that the uncertainty is pushing the HEIs into mimetic processes. It is also important to note that all four universities have continuously added information about their UCE activities to their institutional communications (e.g. website, annual report, institutional brochure). However, the triangulation of institutional communication materials, the interviews and the statistical and regulatory data from the Canton and the Confederation reveal gaps between the HEIs' rhetoric and their actual commitment to UCE. This result might indicate some degree of decoupling, i.e. the HEIs are symbolically endorsing UCE while protecting their core identity and formal structures from pressures leading to coercive and normative isomorphism. Or to put it in other terms, there is a risk that they are paying lip service to UCE while proceeding with their traditional missions.

1.1.1.3 Academics not involved in UCE: non-awareness and reluctance

Inside the different faculties, the interest for the UCE activities is limited. Several interviewees stated that faculty members are mainly indifferent. One programme director describes the general mood:

> The faculty is rather disinterested, there is no support, but no resistance, either.

However, some faculty members go as far as express their critical view about the continuing education programmes that function according to the rules of the (quasi) free market. One researcher states:

> We're a liberal university, but there is a downside. There are Professors who make a business out of it. So, let's say that we are now offering some continuing education, and I am the director of this programme because I only earn CHF 6,000 per month. Then I need to have a secretary. She will take care of the programme for CHF 4,000 per month. And then I'm looking for some good friends to go on a study trip with the students – they get CHF 3,000. Now we have a budget and now let's see what people have to pay.

This quote reveals how the professional logic of academe and the logic of the market logic can

collide when it comes to UCE programmes.

1.1.1.4 Senior UCE administrative staff: decoupling and institutional immunisation

In all four cases in this study, the UCE entity is not integrated into the faculties but is a separate unit reporting to the vice-rectors for education and/or development. Consequently, the UCE unit is a structurally differentiated hybrid quite distant from both the faculties and the rector – and sometimes even removed from the programmes, as these are run independently. The boundary spanning is limited to a small number of LLL associations at national and European level. In all cases, the head of UCE reports to the dean of education and/or development and is a member (mostly without voting rights) of the HEI's continuing education commission that brings together representatives from the different faculties. The UCE senior staff sometimes find it hard to make sense of the overall institutional complexity that HEIs are exposed to. They tend to have a more siloed, operational view linked to their specific area of expertise. In most cases, there is significant insecurity around the institutional pressure to engage in UCE. Externally, they keep a close eye on the CE field where they are exposed to normative pressures and ambiguities surrounding the UCE theme, leading to mimetic processes – even if their scanning of the environment is incomplete. It is often limited geographically and just linked to the UCE theme while ignoring other demands. Internally, they operate between different poles (logics) trying to reconcile unresolved tensions between the HE leadership's mixed signals, reluctant academics and entrepreneurial programme directors. The situation of University "A" stands out from the other three case studies. Not only is there a firm commitment from the rectorate, but the UCE senior staff also demonstrate a strong active-actor approach representing new developments due to their intense boundary spanning (e.g. they are deeply involved with EUCEN). The team, which is also responsible for distance education activities, is composed of highly motivated social scientists from different disciplines. The UCE director, who joined a couple of months previously from an executive business school, explains:

> I discovered the 'Ferrari of teams', you know because it is an amazing set of people coming from different professional backgrounds, who come together with the same vision of continuing education.

The other UCE centres demonstrate a more passive actor behaviour. In the cases of University "B" and "D", the role of the centres is more directed towards advice, control and monitoring, enforcing rules and regulations, ensuring quality standards and providing marketing support. In the case of University "C", the head of UCE is at the end of his career and takes more of an advisory role.

1.1.1.5 Bottom-up approach: individually motivated actors from inside the university

One of the most surprising results from the interviews is that only a few programmes were launched as part of a strategic decision at HE leadership level or due to a specific external demand[56]. The majority of UCE activities were triggered bottom up, i.e. the greater part of the continuing education programmes were initiated by single, highly entrepreneurial faculty members who are located at the technical core of the HEI and therefore are barely aware of any LLL policy discourse (or non-discourse). These entrepreneurial programme directors do not respond to coercive or normative pressures from the field, but are primarily self-driven by their own motivations. So, what drives these academics to invest so much of their time in university continuing education? The motivations that emerge from the interviews are:

(1) Acquisition of additional funds to cross-finance research (e.g. staff, conference participation);
(2) Building strong networks (e.g. alumni, guest speakers) and fostering a continuous dialogue with the world outside/real world;
(3) Motivating and inspiring experience to teach adult students;
(4) Two-way knowledge transfer;
(5) Legitimisation and profiling (visibility and reputation) of the institute, subject matter, faculty and self;
(6) Strengthen relationships with the academic world by inviting guest lecturers from other universities.

Normally, programme directors are not remunerated for managing these programmes. However, they might be paid for teaching in the programme or supervising theses. In most cases, this money goes into their research fund.

Many of these motivations could be leveraged for the organisation if the HEI succeeded in connecting them with the institutional level. But that is a tall order, as these programmes somehow float in an ill-defined space between the faculties, the UCE commission/centres, the rectorate and the programme directors. Increasing bureaucracy that cuts more into their individual freedom will almost inevitably result in demotivating these entrepreneurial actors. One programme director explains:

> So, for me, there are two advantages. One is the money – and the second is the contact with the practice world. Thanks to these continuing education programmes, people know me, and I am in contact with many different people in the practice world. I can test things, I hear about the latest developments and issues, and also what would be interesting in terms of themes to be addressed. And at the same time, I

[56] With the exception of UCE, participation linked to legal compliance, e.g. in the case of medical doctors or lawyers who need to attend a predefined number of courses to keep up to date with knowledge.

> generate funds to pay for assistants, and so on. And that is my motivation. If, for example, the university came up with the idea to demand a 15% overhead, nothing would be left then, and I would not do it anymore.

The same person acknowledges that if it were just about the funds, it would be easier to invest time into writing research applications to the Swiss National Science Foundation. And it is not just about the money.

Another programme director illustrates the point of knowledge-transfer well:

> So why offer lifelong learning? On the one hand, I think it is a good channel to share the research with practice. As a university, usually, you have only these young students. We feed them, and in the past, they assumed that it would last for the rest of their lives. We know that this is no longer the case today and that after four or five years at the latest, the acquired knowledge is outdated. And now you can say, of course, that continuing education is the task of the universities of applied sciences, the private training academies, the professional associations, etc. But why should the university not convey the knowledge that it has generated directly? Patrick Aebischer[57] is the most wonderful example in this regard. He has shown how a Professor who has developed a programming language can use a MOOC to make this one of today's standard programming languages. And he also says: why should people learn from a mimic, if they can learn directly from the inventor through a MOOC.

However, although MOOCs could be considered part of lifelong learning, in none of the four universities are they linked to the continuing education activities. One might ask, why?

For the programme directors, the entrepreneurial experience is rewarding in many ways, but there are also concerns. Some of them raise the issue that the programmes are considered as an initiative at the individual level, which is also demonstrated by the fact that the risk for the programmes often lies with the programme director more than with the university, which is perceived as "unfair". At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that without these strongly individually motivated single 'entrepreneurs', UCE activities would be far less developed.

Another concern, even if it is less important, is the learning infrastructure. Especially the programmes in economics and management, which often compete against private executive training programmes, that benefit from dedicated, conducive high-end learning spaces with modular

[57] President of the École polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL) in Lausanne from 2000 to 2016. During his leadership, EPFL transformed into a world-class science and technology university. He was instrumental for EPFL's strong engagement in the field of MOOCs. Since 2012, the University has developed almost 90 online courses and has another 30 in the pipeline, making it the leading MOOC provider in Europe. Over two million people from more than 200 countries have signed up for one of EPFL's online courses (EPFL 2018).

classrooms and group working spaces. Some programme directors have, therefore, run their programmes in hotels in the past (during the "fat years").

Other issues cannot be so easily fixed as they are linked to the academic culture, the growing scrutiny and the rise of the audit culture as well as the lack of entrepreneurial space. One programme director states:

> My motivation is not monetary. For me, to remain motivated, the environment needs to be right. As long as there are only a few constraints, hurdles or barriers, I remain motivated to do this [continuing education]. But if they increase the control – I'm not talking about the UCE centre, but the university – then, of course, I will have no more desire. It is easy to kill intrinsic motivation.

Another programme director goes a bit further in explaining the internal HE dynamics:

> We operate within a structure that is very bureaucratic – that creates tension. Sometimes, I could go crazy. It is extremely difficult because you have two cultures that collide. Well, let's say that you have an idea for a CAS; it's not like you get a pat on the back and the university says it's a great idea. Everything is examined rather critically. It is almost like the Spanish Inquisition. You almost have to drop your pants ("Hosen runterlassen") to defend the legitimacy of your idea. In my faculty, the dean and others don't even understand what we are doing. They are just focused on research and teaching.

Although the UCE programme directors are highly motivated individuals, there is an underlying tone of frustration. The increased demand for accountability and efficiency, combined with the overhead tax[58] and the perceived lack of recognition seem to discourage these entrepreneurs. The challenge is that their entrepreneurial mindset is in diametrical conflict with the university's predominant logic:

> Entrepreneurial thinking is, of course, a huge issue. To survive in the continuing education market, you have to grow – you need to have a very, entrepreneurial mindset. And that is diametrically opposed to how things work inside the university.

Even though there are attempts by these single actors to push UCE onto the HEI's strategic agenda, the results are limited, not only because the logic of the market conflicts with the logic of academe, but perhaps also because their motivation is not linked to institutional pressure in the first place, but mainly to their own agenda.

1.1.1.6 The myth of self-funded UCE and taking a resource-dependency stance

[58] The overhead tax for income from UCE programmes is either already introduced or about to be introduced in all four HEIs.

Several interviewees touch upon the "myth of self-funded continuing education" (as one interviewee calls it). Others mention the misperception that there is the expectation that UCE can generate big returns. One interviewee explains:

> Why do universities do it [continuing education] now? Of course, because it's a political expectation, but it's partly based on wrong beliefs or ideas. Namely, they look at the US and see that a university makes a two-million-dollar profit with an MBA program, and then they say it would be stupid not to try the same here, too.

Reality shows that only a few programmes yield a profit – mostly those in the field of business studies. This raises the question of programmes that are less popular or cannot be sold at a high price but are useful for civil society.

At the end of 2017, the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (BFS) integrated more detailed financial data on the UCE costs and income by university (BFS 2018) for the first time. Although it is challenging to decode the data (in some cases the professional and personal development of staff and/or heavily subsidised teacher training are included in the costs), it still proves there is significant cross-funding of UCE at Swiss HEIs[59]. So far, this issue has not been discussed in the public domain and might, therefore, deserve more attention.

6.4 Organisational responses filtered by organisational attributes

The main filters defined by Greenwood *et al.* (2011) are the organisation's position in the field, its structure, ownership and governance as well as its identity. They differentiate between two types of organisational responses: organisational strategies or processes and organisational structures. In all four case studies, the internal representation of the demands (Pache and Santos 2010) within the universities is almost identical. The representation of continuing education is ensured through the UCE centre and the UCE commission. That signifies that the difference in responses is, in the first place, influenced by organisational attributes or filters (Greenwood *et al.* 2011).

6.4.1 Field

Greenwood *et al.* (2011) stress the importance of the field position determined by several elements such as size, age, status and location, arguing that it influences how organisations experience

[59] The universities of applied sciences are also expected to self-finance their CE activities. In practice, this does not work. In addition to the fact that UCAs usually do not account for the full costs (e.g. infrastructure costs are not accounted for), the supporting Canton subsidizes UCE – in some cases up to 50%. In case of the Universities of teacher education (pädagogische Hochschulen), which are not integrated into a UAS, the subsidy rate can even reach 80% (Bodmer 2011).

complexity. Although all four HEIs are central players in the rather mature and well-structured field of higher education, there are some marked differences as to location, age and size. The most significant difference is their location: three HEI are based in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, whereas University "A" is rooted in Romandy and therefore influenced by French academic culture. The rector of University "A" states:

> But there is another part of the story, and for me, it is the fact that we are a French-speaking university. In France, the role of continuing education is important for universities. Let's look at VAE, the validation of acquired experience. We are increasingly trying to implement this concept, to accept people to study in some kind of education program. So, I think we are closer to France than we are to the rest of Switzerland, and I think that can also be one explanation of that increase of continuing education. Also, a lot of our staff come from France, where continuing education is part of the duties of universities.

In fact, University "A" in the most active UCE player among the four HEIs. Another attribute is age. Universities "A" and "B" are several centuries older than Universities "C" and "D", the latter two belonging to the group of HEIs founded in the 19th century. Both University "A" and "B" are the outliers, University "A" being the most active in UCE, University "B" the least active.

Researchers offer different interpretations regarding the impact of the age of an institution of higher learning in this respect. One hypothesis is that HEIs that are centuries old and highly reputable internationally can afford to deviate (Dacin *et al.* 2008) from prevailing expectations as they benefit from a certain degree of immunity from institutional pressures. Others contest this hypothesis, arguing that as the HEIs are centrally located in the field, there is little discretion to diverge from expectations (Den Hond and Bakker 2007; Kot and Hendel 2012).

However, one might argue that institutional pressure to engage in UCE is not acute and that the UCE activities are – as expressed by the Rector of University "B" – a "foreign body". The necessity to be self-funded leads UCE programmes to overtly compete in a highly competitive environment according to the rules of the market. As such, UCE activities are not an integral element of the rather mature HE field but are rather a part of the fairly young and dynamic continuing education field, a field whose boundaries have yet to be clearly demarcated. Over the past 15 years, numerous actors (e.g. universities of applied sciences, internationally available distance-learning programmes) have entered the immature subfield of university continuing education both nationally and internationally. This has led to a highly fragmented field with several institutional logics represented in parallel at the same time. In this market, HEIs only hold a small share. Moreover, due to the lack of well-developed coordination mechanisms, balancing interests has been

challenging as the consultation phase, and the outcome of the new Federal law on continuing education (WeBiG; 2017) has demonstrated. UCE today is a hybrid activity located on the boundary of the two overlapping institutional fields, resulting in multiple logics pervading the organisation. Extant studies have stressed the prevalence of multiple logics in organisations (Greenwood *et al.* 2011), but they offer diverging perspectives on their effect on the organisation- and field-level processes and outcomes. Besharow and Smith (Besharov and Smith 2014a) argue that low compatibility combined with a low degree of centrality leads actors to confront and struggle with divergent goals, values, and identities, whereas high compatibility combined with high centrality (e.g. University "A") leads to little or no conflict. However, Seo & Creed (2002) and Friedland & Alford (1991) argue that organisations confronted with institutional contradictions, potentially, have the necessary reflexivity to leverage their agency to proactively deal with the contradictory prescriptions, turning incompatibility into a competitive advantage. Comparing the four universities, it becomes apparent that University "B" takes a more passive stance. The interviews, in fact, reveal insecurity about the future identity of the institution. The rector explains:

> I interpret the situation as a shared insecurity of both the universities and the political bodies. And it can go either way, depending on which logic one chooses to apply to the university. I believe that neither politics nor higher education have decided whether the university is subject to the logic of the liberal market or to the logic of public education. Basically, it all revolves around one question: Are we organisations functioning according to the rules of the free market, whose budget has to end with a black zero at the end of the year? Or are we institutions that have a mandate of social solidarity from society. Both are legitimate, but quintessentially exclusive choices. And depending on the choice, both the political bodies and the universities position themselves respectively in line with that choice.

But are these two choices indeed "quintessentially exclusive"? Or does the response represent a covert form of resistance? In both cases, it is apparent that in an increasingly interconnected, fast-moving environment, institutional complexity is not transitory any more. As a result, the hybrid character of universities is also increasing (Jongbloed 2015). Hence, can universities afford to take a passive stance and resist, even if they are well established and prestigious? Or should they proactively contribute to the debate, feed back into the field and shape their external environment? In contrast to University "B" – and to a certain extent also "C" and "D", University "A"[60] actively deploys its agency, focusing on active choice behaviour (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). The uncertainty around UCE has led University "A" to take a leap forward. The rector demonstrates that University "A" not only links the UCE theme to the third mission (none of the other HEIs do) but takes a systemic view reflecting upon institutionalised competing meaning systems:

[60] It is important to note that University "A" has UCE more dominantly anchored in the Cantonal University Law than in the other cases.

> It is important that these missions [research, teaching, third mission] are not separated from each other. In fact, they are closely related, and continuing education is part of the third mission.

He continues reflecting on the role of the university as an active actor of societal change:

> We really want to be an actor contributing to social innovation, socio-economic innovation. I think we need to be part of that movement; we cannot defend that we only do excellent research, outstanding teaching and also very good continuing education programmes. We need to be an actor of the social and economic innovation. And that is quite important to us, even if this means more duties. And it means also that when there is this kind of debate, we must be part of that societal debate. We want to be part in the process of changing the society. We don't want to be observers. We need to be active actors.

Greenwood *et al.* (2011, p.341) argue that reflexivity can detach an organisation from the "imperative force of logics" and paradoxically liberate it. In addition, they argue that working across different fields heightens the awareness of alternative choices and therefore increases the availability of responses. A good example is that University "A" has chosen to position its UCE programmes more internationally in the future, whereas the other HEIs focus primarily on their language regions. This international approach is also in line with investing in their distance education activities that have now been integrated with UCE. As a result, they are expanding the field and evading – at least to a certain extent – the competition in the saturated Swiss continuing education market.

6.4.2 Ownership

Regarding ownership and governance at the institutional level, the four universities work with an almost identical framework. All four HEIs are cantonal universities and are governed through the Swiss Higher Education Act (HFKG; 2015) and their respective Cantonal University Laws. In terms of funding, 50-60% of their budget comes from the Cantonal governments and another 30-35% (mainly research funding) from the Confederation. These interdependencies provide a channel for institutional pressures to flow and shape the organisational responses through coercive isomorphic processes. The Federal and, in particular the Cantonal governments, therefore, have considerable power over the goals of the university. The rector of University "A" rationalises:

> I mean it is one of the things that we have to deliver on for the taxpayer due to the fact that we are a Cantonal university. The relationship with the taxpayer is much closer than, let's say that for the Ecoles Polytechniques Fédérales. In order to respond to the needs of the people of the city and canton and also to what the politicians are demanding from us, we need to produce knowledge that can be extended to society.

The Cantons of University "D", "B" and "C" exert little to no coercive pressure to engage in continuing education. In the case of University "A", the Cantonal University Law fully embeds the theme in the mission, which offers one (there are others) explanation why HEI "A" is the only university that has fully embraced UCE.

Regarding the HEI governance structure, it is the rector and the university council who have the competencies to decide on strategy, organisation, chairs, appointments and regulations. The rector is chosen from within the academic community and is appointed for a renewable four-year term. In the case of University "A" and "C", the Cantonal government appoints the rector, whereas in the case of University "B" and "D", it is the university council. Reforms in the relationships between the Confederation, the Cantons and the HEIs have led to increased autonomy and the development of organisational strategies (Canhilal *et al.* 2016; Lepori and Fumasoli 2010). The rector of University "D" illustrates this:

> We used to have less autonomy than today. In the past, the boss was the Cantonal Director of Education, and the nominations were negotiated with the Cantonal Director, etc. And the job of the rector was a representative one, i.e. to cut ribbons, hold nice speeches and to sign documents. Today, we are the CEO of a corporation. This is, of course, a totally different job. And then, the university – this huge institution – only moves slowly. But then, that makes it resilient – that means that it is almost impossible to run a university into the ground. Only a few universities have gone broke or had to close because they were mismanaged. That is the positive aspect – it is just like the Catholic Church.

A vice-rector from the same university expands on the point:

> After 15 years of autonomy, improvements are needed at the governance level. I find it unfortunate that a parliamentary commission, which of course cannot consist solely of higher education experts, is deeply involved in the affairs of the university, just because a political group decided upon this – even though I respect them as political representatives. My idea would be that the university council professionalises itself. It could go in the direction of the ETH Board[61], which has its own professional staff and can carry out their own expert evaluations. But this is a difficult business because we are a public body that receives 50% of its budget from the Canton. I am a political person and take it for granted that in a democracy the university has to justify itself. However, we must also be willing to be in disagreement and act in the interest of society. So far, we have not done that enough.

The interviews demonstrate that the increase in autonomy has also led to widespread insecurity about whether it is legitimate for HEIs to directly influence their outside environment (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Although all four organisations have intensified their communication activities as

[61] The Board of the Swiss Federal Institutes of Technology (ETH Board) is the strategic unit elected by the Swiss Federal Council to manage the Swiss Federal Institutes of Technology Domain (ETH Domain).

part of strengthening their stakeholder relationships, there is a question mark when it comes to public affairs, i.e. actively managing interdependencies and manoeuvring for advantages. The rector of University "C" argues that Swiss universities are in a "Dornröschenschlaf" (a deep sleep – a reference to the fairy tale of "Sleeping Beauty"):

> I don't think we have much influence over our environment. At the moment, we are not very good at how we are going about it. For example, we completely missed the boat with the referendum "Against Mass Immigration"[62]. Occasionally we get invited to a hearing of one of these parliamentary commissions. But ultimately, if you listen carefully, it is a political debate between parties, which gets me to say that our contribution to the occasional rational discussion is tiny. In the end, it is a political arrangement that produces the final product and not a convincing argument from any university or professor who is listened to for just five minutes and then leaves again.

As the permeability of boundary and the interventionism from the state are growing, HEIs must carefully manage the interdependencies with their external environment. Corporate communications and marketing have assumed growing importance for improved stakeholder engagement, reputation management and branding in all four HEIs. Nevertheless, much remains to be done as to lobbying and more proactive institutional boundary spanning. The rector of University "A", which has the most recent university law, explains:

> Universities are not good at lobbying. It is a process – we see it very clearly here at the University "A". The university law changed because there was a crisis. And so, they decided to propose this new Cantonal University Law, and 70-75% of the population accepted it, saying: "Yes, it is good to have a new law". But after the new law came into force, politicians would sometimes still intervene – they were always trying to see what we were doing. Now that has changed – they have more confidence in us. We are currently at the stage where the politicians say: "Okay, you are autonomous. So, it means that you are charge of the management of your buildings, you are the owner of your own buildings. You can enact your own wage policies." Okay, so we are autonomous, but we are not automatically given the budget to develop whatever we want. So, we are currently right in the middle of that transition. My main problem now is fighting with the government to defend our autonomy, while explaining that if we do something, we first need to receive the budget to implement it. And I think it is the same thing for continuing education – in fact, it is the same kind of process.

When probing interviewees about the locus of the UCE discussion at the national regulatory level, they have trouble locating it, even the vice-rectors in charge of the UCE centres. Some are vaguely aware of Swissuni, which is a professional association and not part of any regulatory agency or policy body. But at the same time, there is some 'live' sensemaking during the interviews. One vice-rector in charge of UCE states:

[62] For details, see Section 5.3.1

> Exactly, yes, exactly, it [locus of UCE discussion] does not exist. UCE is not yet prominently placed with all the different Conferences, for instance, the Conference of the Cantonal Ministers of Education. OK, there is the other level – the operational level, where the people who deal with UCE meet [Swissuni]. But that does not have a very political character.

It is fair to summarise that university continuing education in Switzerland does not have a clear institutional locus and representation – neither at the regulatory level nor inside Swissuniversities.

6.4.3 Funding

The fact that there is no public funding, i.e. that the UCE activities should theoretically be entirely self-financed, has been challenging for HEIs. The continuing education stimulus programme – the 'Weiterbildungsoffensive' (WBO) (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1989) of the 1990s demonstrated that the CHF 100 million to kickstart the continuing education activities was a decisive incentive for universities to launch UCE activities. However, research data reveals that the discontinuity of the funding and the myth of the self-funded university continuing education (see section 5.3.3.2, p.80) have led Swiss universities to continue to apply decoupling techniques (e.g. Meyer and Rowan 1977b; Westphal and Zajac 2001; Fiss and Zajac 2006; Boxenbaum and Jonsson 2008; Bromley and Powell 2012; Crilly *et al.* 2012) over the past two decades. That means that HEIs have symbolically endorsed UCE and conformed to the demands of the environment, without truly integrating continuing education into their core mission or organisational DNA. One of the rectors explains the dilemma:

> Can a university meet all expectations in this environment, in a world where HEIs are suffering from mission overload? My answer is, we have no choice – we have to. And this results in tension. Of course, the university must conform because these are the expectations. Naturally, HEIs are not good at this, but we have to respond to the demand. The clearly defined functional role of the university as it used to exist, is no more. There was genuine consensus on issues until 1999. Now we abide by the decisions, but more symbolically.

This decoupling is mirrored in the separateness of the UCE activities and organisational structures (structurally differentiated hybrid) from the core activities of research and teaching, but also in details such as the lack of transparency in internal cross-funding. In fact, the interviewees avoid answering questions regarding cross-funding. And only a handful interviewees (e.g. rector of University "A") believe there should even be such thing as some public funding. This idea does not seem to be aligned with their idea of the HEI's organisational identity. However, to reduce cross-funding, all four universities have gradually introduced (or are about to) a UCE overhead tax (between 4.5% and 12.5%), which has not been seen favourably by the programme directors. To

sum up, the lack of public funding, an unclear narrative and missing steering mechanisms have negatively influenced the priority UCE has been given by three out of the four HEIs.

In terms of the underlying motivation for the decoupling of the UCE activities, there is no clear consensus from the interviews and existing desk materials on whether it has been deliberate, i.e. used as a political device (Kodeih and Greenwood 2014), or whether it has been a subconscious strategy to avoid internal tension and threats to the legitimacy of the university. Conversely, Raynard (2016, p.16) argues that "symbolic decoupling is a form of covert resistance to the field-level prioritisation" while waiting for field-level settlements to determine how institutional prescriptions should be prioritised. More research is needed into the motivations of decoupling. Pache and Santos (2013a) draw attention to the fact that decoupling practices can be challenging to maintain over longer periods of time because coalitions (representing the competing prescriptions) may form and increase the tension, which is demonstrated by the underlying level of frustration of both the UCE team members and the programme directors (except for University "A"). In fact, several researchers (Boxenbaum and Jonsson 2008; Greenwood *et al.* 2011) stress the need for additional research into the effects of decoupling on intra-organisational factors such as productivity or employee morale.

6.4.4 Governance, structure and representation

The power structures (e.g. functional structures, internal and external representation, thickness of ties, degree of influence) and connectivity both at the field and the intra-organisational level influence how HEIs respond to the pressure to engage in UCE. Surprisingly, the organisational structures of UCE at the four universities are very similar. In all cases, the UCE activities are installed in an entity separate from the mainstream functions of the university. Greenwood *et al.* (2011) call this type of organisational arrangement a *structurally differentiated hybrid*[63]. This separate unit allows an organisation to deal with new demands separately, reducing potential trade-offs and tensions. The governance structure of the UCE activities is also almost identical. The elements of the governance structure are:

[63] Greenwood *et al.* (2011) see two options for organisation when there is the necessity to deal with institutional complexity that derives from multiple logics:
(a) Structurally differentiated hybrids: the new logic is installed in an entity separate from the mainstream functions. This (at least initially) separate unit deals with the exigencies separately. This reduces potential trade-offs and tensions.
(b) Blended hybrids: the changes linked to the newly salient logic are incorporated into the existing organisational functions side-by-side with present practices. This results in the new practices being integrated into the organisation through merging or layering with existing practices. Blended hybridisation involves an immediate change to goals, processes, roles and responsibilities in the organisation, and as a result might lead to more tensions arising from the differing prescriptions and demands.

(1) The *UCE programmes and their directors*, who are formally embedded in the faculties. However, the ties of the UCE programmes with the faculties tend to be weak.
(2) The *UCE commission* that governs the continuing education activities. It is composed of the vice-rector of education and/or development, representatives from the different faculties, the UCE senior administrative staff (one or two people – who are not in all cases full member(s) of the commission) and in some cases also a small number of programme directors. The commission meets between two and four times per year. The responsibilities and tasks of the commissions range from setting quality standards and rules for planning, implementation and evaluation, to managing the continuing education fund (overhead tax), advising the faculties, ensuring the mutual exchange of best practice and the flow of information between UCE and the faculties and contributing to the strategic dimensions of continuing education.
(3) The *steering committees* (and in some cases also the advisory board) for each programme. It is worth noting that each programme has its own regulations and governance structure.
(4) The *UCE centre with its UCE senior administrator(s)*. The centre is a separate unit outside of the faculties buffered from the core activities of research and teaching. It reports to the vice-rector of education or development, who reports to the rector.
(5) The *rectorate and/or the university council*, who have the final say on important strategic decisions.

This demonstrates that the governance structure of the UCE activities is rather complex, which might not always be efficient. In fact, the interviews reveal some frustrations. In the best case, there is a well-functioning UCE commission that meets frequently, feels empowered and is supported by the HE leadership and legitimised to contribute to the strategy-making process. This is the case of University "A". Thanks to weekly meetings between the vice-rector and the UCE team, there are thick ties with the rectorate, resulting in a good flow of communication between the UCE centre and the HE leadership. At the other end of the spectrum, the UCE commission can rather be an impediment than an enabler. The rector of University "B" explains:

> I must thank God that the continuing education commission has not caused any problems. Or let's say, not too many problems. Based on my experience, they have not solved any issues. How did they come about? It is simple – this is a typical academic pattern. There is a new concern. Then you ask the faculty to designate somebody to be part of the commission. As nobody is interested in the matter, whoever comes through the door first is chosen. And the fact that the members of the commission do not feel concerned has held up the development on continuing education instead of pushing the activities. Why? – The members of the commission don't live and breathe a culture that is open to continuing education in the modern sense, because they adhere to the Humboldtian academic ideals. So, the tendency has been to keep the development of continuing education under control. The vice-rector of education tried to

> centralise continuing education to a certain extent, but the faculty members in the commission resisted this repeatedly, as they were representing the interest of the faculties. And in the logic of these people, the interests of the faculty are interpreted as the interests of the single programme directors.

Not only do *faculty representatives* bring in their individual opinion and not the faculty's – "if there is even such thing", remarks one interviewee, i.e. they are also influenced by their cognitive templates closely linked to the academic logic. In Switzerland, the faculties and their chairs have a high degree of autonomy, making them powerful actors. It is therefore often challenging to bring these players on board, let alone to impose decisions on them. In all HEIs, programme directors report that UCE is not much of a theme during faculty meetings. In addition, the interviews reveal that programme directors proactively avoid exposing their programmes to the plenum as they fear negative interference from colleagues, who might block or boycott decisions, rather than support the UCE activity. This results in further isolation of the UCE activities moving them even further from the core themes of the university.

The *vice-rectors* of learning/development do not benefit from any longstanding experience in university continuing education. This is reflected in their limited knowledge of the regulatory framework and the field. What is more, they are not involved in external UCE boundary spanning, i.e. they do not participate in external UCE networks – this is seen as the role of the more operational UCE administrative staff. As a result, there is limited reflexivity about the lifelong learning theme, the effects of the decoupling of UCE activities and limited knowledge of managing a hybrid structure. It might be also worth mentioning that the vice-rectors are the only persons who did not readily agree to be interviewed.

The *UCE teams'* interview responses also reveal that the engagement and energy level vary considerably from one team to another. University "B" has been without a UCE head for some time. The new person is an academic with no experience in UCE. University "C" benefits from a knowledgeable person who knows the business but has been fighting for years (mostly in vain) to increase the HEI's commitment to its UCE activities. The UCE head of University "D" is an administrator whose concerns are regulations and rules, but not so much the entrepreneurial side of UCE. By contrast, University "A" benefits from a highly motivated team that has built strong internal and external relationships over time through which it is capable of motivating social actors. In fact, the UCE staff of University "A" and "C" are the most active boundary spanners – the former also at EU level (e.g. EUCEN), whereas the latter mostly in Switzerland and Germany (German-speaking regions). The UCE team of University "A" is the only actor with a clear

understanding of the European LLL discourse. As such, they are carriers of the institutional demand (especially, normative and mimetic) to move from UCE to the lifelong learning university, which originates at the EU policy level. Acting as an 'interpreter', they import these norms and meanings into their own HEI and to a certain extent also export them into the Swiss HE and the CE field. It is therefore not surprising that HEI "A" is the only university that has embraced the idea of the lifelong learning university and not just university continuing education. Thus, University "A" fully leverages its agency to connect at field level, not just nationally, but also internationally (conferences, workshops, etc.) and their awareness and receptivity of the institutional pressures is, therefore, more acute. This is also valid, to a certain extent, for Universities "C" and "D", but the salience of their relationships with national professional associations (e.g. Swissuni and DGWF) is lower, which means that less pressure will flow. And then there is the UCE centre of University "B", which is rather insulated from external UCE communities. To what extent this is deliberate is not entirely clear. Research shows that institutional immunity (Greenwood *et al.* 2011) is a way of preventing external demands from entering the organisation and minimising sources of internal resistance, and is thus a way of reducing (at least short term) the amount of institutional complexity experienced from the environment.

To summarise, there is some representation of UCE inside the HEIs – even multiple points of representation if we count the UCE commission, the UCE centre and the programme directors as different loci. As there is little to no coercive pressure (except for University A) to engage in UCE, the continuing education is low down on the priority list for the university leadership. This is also perfectly reflected by the fact that Swissuniversities has not had a working group on continuing education for many years. The rector of University "A" remarks:

> Swissuniversities has many commissions, but none is related to lifelong learning. There are committees regarding teaching, regarding research, regarding strategy, regarding international relations, but none focusing on continuing education. I think it is symbolic of how the universities see lifelong learning. And it is quite interesting, but also a cause for concern. Why haven't we created such a platform? This could be seen as a reproach to the leadership.

One possible explanation for why continuing education is not on the 'radar' of rectors, and thus Swissuniversities, might be – apart from the lack of coercive pressure – the minimal exposure to the UCE theme in general as the UCE boundary spanning is carried out by the UCE senior administrators. They are the only actors active in boundary spanning in the small UCE community and in the wider field of continuing education in general. But since these internal players are distant

from the university leadership and decoupled from the core of the HEIs, the institutional pressure is not diffused inside the organisation. This avoids conflict, but also hampers reflexivity and paralyses the further development of continuing education through a lack of sensemaking/-giving and strategizing.

6.4.5 Organisational identity

The organisational identity of a university shapes the HEI's and single actors' discretion as it acts as a filter concerning the appropriateness of alternative repertoires of responses and actions when confronted with complexity (see 2.5.3.5.). Most interviewees perceive gaps between their own dominant logic (individual, sub-unit, organisation), the nature of organisational practices, formal documents (e.g. HEI mission statements, policies, strategies, rules) and the external demands. They struggle to fully make sense of the increasing institutional complexity, which results in a high degree of insecurity regarding the organisational identity and thus the repertoire of available responses. Although the interviewees identify single elements or events that trigger sensemaking – for instance, the Bologna Process (1999) is mentioned repeatedly as a crossroads – they often do not have a systemic view. Many academics also lament the loss of academic freedom. One rector states:

> Individual and institutional freedom are not the same. The university up to 1999 was primarily concerned with individual freedom, and the university after 1999 has been concerned with institutional matters. That is also the dilemma with lifelong learning. For example, I am Professor of Marketing. I want to earn a little more money – I launch a programme. But after 1999, you cannot just set up a new programme. What are the risks? How much money can you lose, etc.? The institutional dimension is massive.

Each internal group offers a different narrative: the HE leadership, the programme directors, the UCE team and the faculty. On the one side, these storylines are about the increased accountability, teaching loads, resource scarcity and new demands. On the other side, there are narratives of success, where change agents have a positive storyline. And between these opposing explanations, are narratives that show a neutral stance toward the transformation of the university. However, some interviewees, especially from University "A" and the entrepreneurial UCE programme directors, see opportunities in continuing education, such as rethinking the education chain and making educational pathways more flexible. Others go a step further, suggesting that the university could consider connecting the demands and trends (e.g. knowledge transfer, widening access, continuing education, digitalisation – some of which will bring about disruptive change) as transversal themes and connect them with the two main HE missions of teaching and research. One vice-rector, who laments the erosion of the ivory tower, admits the need for change:

> I know the higher education history well enough to see that there have been enormous changes. I think that now is the moment where the university needs to reinvent itself.

Taking a psychological perspective, Brown and Starkey (2000, p.104) argue that "like individuals, the psychological organization seeks to maximize self-esteem and, in doing so, acts conservatively to preserve its identity". The authors also emphasise that a change in organisational identity can provoke psychological pain, anxiety, conflicts and loss of self-esteem.

The research data indicates that in the cases of Universities "B", "C" and "D", UCE today is only minimally integrated into their organisational identity. Even if continuing education is mentioned in official documents, the dominant identity orientation remains unchanged. Not only do the HEIs keep UCE separate from the core activities of teaching and research, but there is also no link to other demands such as knowledge transfer, adding value to the regional context and distance learning (e.g. MOOCs) that HEIs need to deliver on. Conversely, University "A" demonstrates an active choice behaviour in which there has been a reframing of UCE that emphasises the (1) meaningfulness, (2) 'valuability' and (3) appropriateness (Wickert *et al.* 2017) of continuing education in relation with the dominant identity orientation. Backed by the Cantonal law, the identity change of University "A" has been driven by decisive leadership through identity claiming, symbolic acts (e.g. visibility of UCE), institutional bricolage (Cleaver 2012)[64] and changes at the boundaries of the organisation – e.g. close cooperation with external partners aligning goals and processes. Over the past years, these sustained efforts have led to a shift in collective self-conceptions of University "A".

6.4.6 Profile of HE and UCE leaders

An important filter can be the profile of university staff members as it influences their cognitive frames. One element that emerges clearly from the interviews is that staff members with a social science background – especially those who come from organisation studies – interpret the pressures and changes in the field quite differently from others. They are able to dissect the dynamics and tend to have a more systemic view. Their disciplinary background seems to allow them to better make sense of the dynamics in the field and the organisation and be more reflexive. This puts them into a better position to be proactive, manoeuvre for advantages and consider environmental

[64] The expression institutional bricolage refers to processes in which people draw on existing factors (e.g. rules, norms. practices relationships, symbols) to put together adapted or new arrangements in response to changing situations. The organisations resulting from these processes are hybrids made up from new and existing elements.

changes as opportunities rather than a threat. In fact, the rector of University "A" is the only HE leader with a full social science background (economics).

Several HE leaders also address the necessity for better preparation for a leadership role and a more developed learning culture. One vice-rector asserts:

> We need a formalised framework that allows us to build and engage in a common learning process, build a culture of dialogue and resolve conflicts – including the allocation of resources.

Previous experience with hybrid setups also seems to make a difference. Through its close links with the external environment, University "A" has been building its capacity to manage across logics. In general, the leadership of HEI "A" takes the perspective that institutional complexity is not a problem, but an opportunity, believing that working to different prescriptions – although difficult – is feasible and can even benefit the university. The rectorate has therefore hired a UCE head who brings know-how of both the academic and the corporate/public world into the organisation ensuring institutional ambidexterity. While these insights are helpful in the overall analysis, there is still much room for more empirical exploration to better understand the effects of personal profiles and ambidexterity.

6.4.7 Internal communication

The increasing importance of external communication (e.g. stakeholder management, marketing, reputation management, branding) has been reflected by the HEIs putting more resources towards these activities. However, the findings suggest that internal communication (sometimes also referred to as employee communication, HR communication or (intra-)organisational communication) is almost totally absent in the four case studies. Although there is representation and there are regular meetings among those who are concerned by UCE, the information only has a few channels – if any apart from the official information (e.g. Websites) – through which the pressures and logics and even the mere information can be diffused internally.

7 Discussion

The discussion chapter reviews the patterns, principles and relationships from the findings and examines their empirical, theoretical and managerial implications, linking them to frameworks and literature. The central objective is to answer the research question of how Swiss universities experience and respond to the institutional pressure of engaging in lifelong learning. The first part of the chapter starts out by reviewing the use of neo-institutional and resource dependence theory as the guiding theories for this research project. The discussion moves on to analysing the sources, degree and meaning of the institutional pressure for universities to engage in lifelong learning. The chapter then goes on to examine how different organisational attributes influence and filter organisational responses (strategic and structural) against the backdrop of institutional complexity. This is followed by a reflection on theoretical implications, recommendations for further research as well as implications as to the future managerial practice of university lifelong learning. The chapter closes with a discussion of the limitations of the study and proposes ways in which the research project could be expanded.

7.1 Institutional complexity: combining neo-institutional and resource dependence theory

There have been different studies integrating neo-institutional and resource dependence theory to analyse the relationship between an organisation, its environment and external demands, most notably by Oliver (1991). In the field of higher education, for instance, Zomer, Jongbloed and Enders (2010), Gornitzka (2006) and Coles (2004). The rich empirical findings prove that combining neo-institutional theory (NIT) and resource dependency theory (RDT) has not only allowed for a comprehensive understanding of the institutional pressures, but also for a much richer interpretation of the strategic and structural organisational responses as the theories despite many similarities also take some different stances on how organisations face – or are impacted by – pressures from the environment in which they operate. This allows for a wider repertoire of possible responses. In fact, the findings reveal that HEIs do not only adapt to their institutional context but can play an active role in shaping their environment (Meyer and Rowan 1977), as in the case of University “A”, i.e. universities do not only have to adapt to their context, but they can also shape it proactively (NIT=conformity versus RDT=agency and non-compliance). Neo-institutional theory focuses on stability, conformity (non-choice), legitimacy and imitation (mimetic isomorphism), whereas resource dependency theory focuses on innovation, change, efficiency and an active-actor approach. The results demonstrate that HEIs can pursue both legitimacy and efficiency as these two options are not necessarily mutually exclusive. This also strengthens Greenwood and Miller’s

(2010) argument that jointly applying mature theories allows for a more comprehensive approach to unlocking complex organisational circumstances. Considering that the combination of neo-institutional and resource dependence theory produces such rich results also raises the point if after the long-lasting focus on neo-institutional theory (which was a 'salutary shock questioning rationality and efficiency), it is not time to bring RDT back into the arena.

7.2 Sources, meaning and degree of institutional pressures

The research findings deriving from interviews and secondary data (e.g. legislative and regulatory text at from the EU, Swiss national and cantonal level, HEI strategy documents and communication materials, statistical data) confirm that the sources of institutional pressure are numerous and vary widely as to meaning and degree. The first source of institutional pressure – the one that motivated the thesis – is the normative pressure being exerted by the ever sharper and more utilitarian EU lifelong learning discourse (Volles 2016) that calls upon universities to step up their role in lifelong learning, going beyond merely offering some continuing education programmes to becoming lifelong learning universities (EUCEN and Davies 2009). The EU LLL discourse thus goes beyond university continuing education, including concepts such as widening access, flexible pathways, the recognition of prior learning as well as the social, cultural and economic development of communities and the region (see Chapters 4 and 5.2.3). However, due to the subsidiarity principle, the European Union has very limited coercive power and thus can only intervene as a norm entrepreneur (Kleibrink 2011) building normative pressure and influencing directly through such means as indicators, conferences, reports and declarations (e.g. Leuven Declaration (Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education 2009)). Despite the efforts of the EU to persuade universities to embrace LLL, the interviews with the four HEIs clearly reveal that neither the weak coercive nor the fairly strong normative pressure penetrate the walls of the 'ivory tower', i.e. internal actors rarely perceive the pressure. There are different reasons: firstly, the EU's idea of university lifelong learning is not aligned with Swiss university continuing education (UCE) (non-)policy at the national level – and mostly also not at the cantonal level –and is thus not passed on to the HEIs. Secondly, there is limited permeability of the boundaries between the HEIs and the European level where the ULLL discussion is taking place. In concrete terms, there are few channels for the normative – and to a small extent cognitive – EU pressure to penetrate the HEIs' (exception: University "A") walls due to little boundary spanning and limited external representation of Swiss UCE actors in LLL forums at the European level. Moreover, the boundary spanning is not conducted by the universities' leadership (rector or vice-rector) but only tends to

include UCE senior administrators who are buffered inside a structurally differentiated hybrid unit, distant from key organisational decision makers and the core (research and teaching) of the university. Similar patterns can be observed at the Swiss national level: only where there is boundary spanning will the institutional pressure to engage in ULLL and/or UCE enter the HEI and be perceived inside the HEI. As a result of the few UCE boundary spanners, there is little environmental scanning, limited sensemaking (e.g. Weick 1995, Gioia and Chittipeddi 1991; Maitlis and Christianson 2014) and therefore only minimal reflexivity.

At the Swiss national and cantonal level, lifelong learning tends to take a less integrative, transversal approach, its meaning is more limited to university continuing education. At the national level, neither the Federal Government nor any other regulatory body exert any regulatory pressure (coercive isomorphism) to engage in UCE, even if the continuing education stimulus programme – the 'Weiterbildungsoffensive' (WBO) (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1989) – of the 1990s still resonates with those who experienced it. The Swiss national rectors' conference, Swissuniversities, does not see itself concerned by UCE and Swissuni, an association that brings together the UCE departments of the different Swiss Universities, mostly stays 'under the radar'. The situation changes somewhat at the cantonal level. Depending on the respective cantonal university law, there is a wide spectrum of approaches ranging from no (University "B") to weak (Universities "C" and "D") and medium-strong coercive pressure (University "A"). So only in the case of University "A" is the lifelong learning approach fully embraced. Several factors play a role here: the rector considers lifelong learning a central theme, and the related staff are active boundary spanners at the European level and thus exposed to the normative EU discourse. Conversely, the more restricted or siloed UCE view of the other HEIs in this study mirrors the tendency of the HEIs to isolate university continuing education (decoupling).

Generally speaking, these diverging positions at the different levels (cantonal, national and European) are not well aligned and contribute to the uncertainty around university continuing education, compounded by constant inter-organisational comparison. The uncertainty pushes the HEIs to seek legitimacy through mimetic processes, not just copying other Swiss or European universities, but also the universities of applied sciences that are active in the field and have the explicit mandate to offer continuing education. The result is often more of a 'muddling through' than a reflexive approach that creates room for strategizing and coordinated manoeuvring for advantages.

Interestingly, the results also show that an important driving force behind existing university continuing education programmes is not institutional but derives from the entrepreneurial energy of individually motivated, single faculty members inside the higher education institutions. As they are barely – if at all – aware of the coercive or normative pressure in the field, these 'entrepreneurs' first and foremost have their individual motivation (as opposed to institutional), which range from cross-funding of their research activities, networking and knowledge transfer to profiling their institute (for a complete list, see Chapter 6.3.2.4.). While a certain degree of mimetic isomorphic processes cannot be excluded, this bottom-up force should not be underestimated, especially if these individual initiatives can be linked to the strategic objectives of the institution. In other words, entrepreneurial individuals can play a key role in driving forward innovative developments (Park *et al.* 2014).

To summarise, the most acute institutional pressure derives from the high uncertainty in the field – with the universities of the applied sciences playing a key role – leading to mimetic isomorphic processes. As a result, the four universities mimic other higher education institutions (both at the national and the international level) as well as the universities of applied sciences (national). And when actions are taken, the emphasis is on continuing education, whereas the strong normative pressure deriving from the European Union is about lifelong learning. Regarding the coercive pressure, the degree varies according to its origin: the pressure derived from the European level is weak; the pressure from the national level is non-existent; and at the cantonal level, the degree of pressure depends on the regulatory framework (e.g. Cantonal University Law). However, as previously mentioned, most UCE programmes do not originate as a response to institutional pressure but are the result of the individual motivation of single 'entrepreneurs' inside the HEIs, which is mostly detached from the HEIs organisational strategy.

Both Greenwood *et al.* (2011) and Pache and Santos (2010) do not take the *type of institutional pressure (coercive, normative, mimetic)* into consideration in their models, although the factor inevitably influences the attention that demands receive or how easily they can be avoided (Scott 2014; Oliver 1991). The data from the four HEI indicates that due to the close link between the Cantons and the universities (and to a lesser extent to the Confederation), the coercive demands receive more attention. Moreover, due to the absence of resources (public funding) for UCE, insecurity is heightened, resulting in mimetic processes gaining ground. However, this claim needs further empirical exploration.

The findings also confirm that Greenwood *et al.* (2011) are on track when arguing that the lack of a central field actor increases complexity due to a lack of unifying field-level arrangements. The research results are also in line with the claim that boundary spanning is likely to expose organisations to a higher degree of complexity, and that boundary spanning and environmental scanning augment the awareness of possible choices, widening the repertoire of responses. However, in their models, Greenwood *et al.* (2011) and Pache and Santos (2010) do not address the level at which the boundary spanning takes place. In a recent study – albeit dealing with entrepreneurship in industry – Glaser *et al.* (2015) demonstrate that the effectiveness of boundary-spanners varies depending on the hierarchical position of the actors. According to the authors, the top-down approach to boundary-spanning is more likely to produce strategic renewal, i.e. considering the role, the level of power and access to resources of organisational leaders, there is a greater chance to catalyse change, if such is seen as a priority. The data from the study seems to confirm this effect. UCE boundary spanning almost exclusively happens at the operational level by players buffered inside the HEIs' technical core and distant from the organisations' leadership thus limiting influence.

7.3 Organisational responses to institutional pressures and organisational filters

The findings confirm that the organisational filters suggested by Greenwood *et al.* (2011, p.339) (position of the organisation within a field, the ownership, governance, structure and identity) do not only make an essential contribution to understanding how organisations are structured and managed, but their model has also proven valuable as the application of the proposed organisational filters allows the deconstruction of the organisation and penetration below the meta level. In fact, the HEIs' responses to the institutional pressure to engage in lifelong learning demonstrate that the four Swiss universities – despite their perceived similarity – enact a wide variety of strategic and structural responses. These range from (a) strong commitment to lifelong learning and (b) avoiding conforming to the institutional pressure by hiding behind a "façade of acquiescence" (Oliver 1991, p.154) to (c) apparently intentional decoupling of UCE activities as a form of covert resistance (Raynard 2016), which results in stark discrepancies between talk, decisions and actions, to well-meant buffering mechanisms (e.g. Fiss and Zajac 2006; Westphal and Zajac 2001; Tilcsik 2010). However, Greenwood *et al.* (2011) and Pache and Santos (2010) proposed exploring additional attributes, in particular the organisational skills required to mobilise particular strategies and further determinants of organisational responses such as the profile of organisational leaders and an organisation's prior experience. This research project has therefore integrated the profile of leaders,

previous experience and ambidexterity as additional filters. However, the findings indicate the relevance of some additional organisational filters, namely internal communications and reflexivity. Moreover, Greenwood *et al.* (2011) could have engaged more with resource dependence theory (they just 'wave' at RDT). This would have allowed them to analyse additional elements and focus more on active choice behaviour and coping with interdependencies by tackling external interdependencies and resource flows.

7.3.1 Field

The research reveals interesting indications on the *field.* Swiss university continuing education is not so much a part of the HE field, but rather a UCE sub-field located on the boundary of the field of higher education and the fragmented field of continuing education and training. In other words, UCE is a hybrid activity that is part of two institutional fields, resulting in multiple logics pervading the organisation that increases the institutional complexity (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Kraatz and Block 2008). While the field of continuing education is young, the sub-field of UCE can be characterised as immature. This is demonstrated by the low centralisation and the lack of structuration of the field (Meyer *et al.* 1987), revealed by the small number of professional bodies (e.g. EUCEN and Swissuni), the lack of 'tournament rituals' (Rao *et al.* 2003; Anand and Watson 2004), and 'infomediaries' (e.g. special publications) (Deephouse and Heugens 2009) and the diverging terminology (see chapter 4, p.60). The data also shows that the UCE field-level structures are unstable. New market entrants (e.g. universities of applied sciences, distance education providers), changes in the regulatory environment (e.g. new Swiss federal law on continuing education) and technological developments (e.g. online distance learning platforms, MOOCs) are altering the field dynamics and the salience of competing institutional demands. A good example is the entrance of the universities of applied sciences into the UCE market at the end of the 1990s. This development has deeply affected the role that universities are expected to play in the field, as demonstrated by the discontinuation of the Swiss continuing education impact programme – the 'Weiterbildungsoffensive' (WBO) (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1989). The changes seem to have also affected the organisational identity of the field and to a smaller extent that of the HEIs. However, the results call for a better understanding of the relationship between the field and the organisational identity (Kraatz and Block 2008). The findings also confirm that the low degree of field formalisation increases the degree of complexity perceived by organisations (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). From a theoretical perspective, the study indicates that in the case of emerging (or less mature) and still rather fragmented fields, in which the patterns of the regularised relationships are undeveloped, focusing on an organisation's position in the field as a key attribute (suggested by

Greenwood *at al.* (2011)) might not be enough. The findings imply adding the formalisation, the fragmentation and the structuration of the field (e.g. professional bodies) as well as elements such as tournament rituals (Rao *et al.* 2003; Anand and Watson 2004), infomediaries (Deephouse and Heugens 2009) and diverging terminology (see chapter 4, p.60) will lead to a better understanding of the filter 'field'.

7.3.2 Ownership, funding, governance

As to ownership, governance and funding, the four universities and their continuing education activities appear almost identical at the intra-organisational and inter-organisational level. At the same time, the findings also indicate that the higher degree of autonomy granted to Swiss HEIs over the past two decades has been accompanied by increased institutional complexity. This situation, in turn, has led to growing insecurity and to questions from the HEI's leadership as to what extent it is legitimate for the universities to influence the external interdependencies and resource flows (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Although external communication activities have been intensified as part of strengthening the stakeholder relationships, there are still questions as to managing interdependencies and manoeuvring for advantages. A salient example is the new law on continuing education (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft 2016) in which the HEIs lost out on the opportunity to lobby with regulatory authorities for their 'space' (e.g. public funding for UCE activities), i.e. the interviewees do not see lobbying as part of the repertoire of responses. It does not fit with the prevailing logic (Greenwood *et al.* 2011) of academe. It seems that universities would rather stick with the myth of self-funded university continuing education (see chapter 6.4.3, p.115) while continuing to stealthily cross-fund. To sum up, the study suggests that Greenwood *et al.* (2011) could cover active choice behaviour (agency) in shaping social relationships, controlling external criteria and resource dependencies in more depth, especially in regard to the existing organisational identity that shapes the organisation's discretion (Narayanan *et al.* 2011). It also seems that there is still ample room for higher education research to further explore this theme.

7.3.3 Structures

7.3.3.1 Organisational structure

Moving on to organisational structures as a filter, the findings show that the UCE centres have been set up as structurally differentiated hybrids (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). The move has allowed the four HEIs to deal with the demand to offer continuing education programmes separately from the HE core activities, reducing potential trade-offs and tensions inside the organisation (Pache and Santos

2011; Besharov and Smith 2012; Pache and Santos 2013a; Battilana and Lee 2014; Dalpiaz *et al.* 2016). The centres were created with the financial support of the federal continuing education stimulus programme (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1997). However, the underlying motivation of the decoupling strategy is unclear, i.e. whether the setup of the UCE activities as structural differentiation hybrids (as opposed to blended hybrids (Kodeih and Greenwood 2014)) has been deliberate, as a form of covert resistance (Raynard 2016) in order to wait out how institutional prescriptions should be prioritised, or whether it has been a subconscious strategy (Misangyi 2016) to avoid internal tension and threats to the legitimacy of the university. It would be of interest to explore the reason behind the decoupling strategy more in depth. The interviews also indicate that after more than 20 years, there are concerns regarding the potential 'costs' of maintaining the current decoupling, such as employee morale and productivity (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). The situation needs further exploration. Programme Directors also voice preoccupation about the increasingly competitive (university) continuing education market (e.g. requires expert marketing support) and the growing need for professional marketing as well as their increasing frustration with the growing demand for accountability, the perceived lack of recognition and the fact that they often have to bear the risk of the operation. Moreover, many of these 'entrepreneurs' are close to retirement; as their UCE activities tend to be individual and not institutional initiatives, there is the risk of discontinuity.

The governance of the structurally differentiated UCE centres is almost identical in the four cases, i.e. it is relatively complex and not always efficient. The governance arrangements include the vice-rector of learning/development in charge of UCE, the UCE commission, the UCE centre and the programme directors as well as some external experts in some cases. The UCE commission brings together the representatives from the different faculties and other parts of the HEI; however, in some cases, the representatives are influenced by their cognitive templates linked to their academic logic, which sometimes results in a deadlock. What is more, programme directors avoid exposing their programmes during faculty meetings as they fear scrutiny and negative interference from colleagues. This results in further isolation of the UCE activities. From a theoretical perspective, the representation of specific cognitive templates or a particular logic in a commission has important implications on the availability of the repertoire of choices, especially when looking at hybrid-organisations and should therefore be taken into consideration in Greenwood *et. al.*'s (2011) model.

7.3.3.2 Representation and boundary spanning

Starting out with internal representation, in all four cases there is representation of UCE inside the HEIs, even in multiple loci (e.g. UCE centre, UCE commission, UCE programme directors, vice-rector in charge of UCE). Nonetheless, continuing education in three out of four cases is a peripheral matter for the HEI. This contradicts the prediction of Pache and Santos' model (2010, p.469) of responses to conflicting institutional demands. One element that seems to contribute to this effect is the degree of influence (Zald and Lounsbury 2010), i.e. the capability and motivation of actors inside the organisation to enforce the demands on the organisation through their channels. The UCE centre's ties with the faculties and the senior management are weak and make it difficult for demands to diffuse themselves inside the organisation (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Besharov and Smith 2014a). In addition, since the university is a loosely coupled system (Weick 1976) and its researchers embedded in the logic of academe, internal representatives might be less committed to actively advocate matters (even if there is representation). A second contributing element is the lack of coercive pressure that seems to overshadow representation. A third element is found in the few channels through which the isomorphic pressures from the UCE or the larger continuing education field flow into the HEI. And existing boundary spanning and external representation, such as serving on committees of professional associations (Greenwood *et al.* 2002), is exclusively conducted by the UCE senior administrators, who are buffered inside the technical core of the UCE centre far from the rector and the activities of research and teaching. Although this might avoid conflicts (Besharov and Smith 2012), it also hampers reflexivity (Seo and Creed 2002; Friedland and Alford 1991) and paralyses the further development of continuing education internally – and also externally - as there is little feedback back into the field (Castells 1997; Greenwood *et al.* 2011). As part of an open system, an organisation not only interacts with but is also influenced by and feeds back into the constantly changing world that it surrounds it. Boundary spanning assumes a key role in an organisation's capacity to react to environmental uncertainty (Thomas *et al.* 1993). The research data suggests that the missing participation of HE leadership in boundary spanning, the small number of UCE boundary spanners (Hazy *et al.* 2003) and their restricted access to the rector as well as the limited environmental scanning might impede sensemaking, reflexivity and limit the available strategic options (Narayanan *et al.* 2011; Weick *et al.* 2005; Weick 1993).

Furthermore, the findings demonstrate that external representation and the proactive management of interdependencies (this can also figure under different terms such as 'public affairs' or 'lobbying') through representation of organisational boundary spanners on external committees and executive councils of associations play an important role in institutional pressures entering the organisation (Greenwood *et al.* 2002). However, the results also indicate that external representation is an

important element in coping with uncertainty. The example of University "A" demonstrates how the UCE team has established relationships with external actors, in the field, to influence the task environment and to achieve some degree of power and control with the objective of securing tangible and non-tangible resources that will reduce uncertainty.

But although internal representation has received some attention in the literature (Pache and Santos 2010; Pache and Santos 2013b; Pache 2010), the theme of external representation through which organisations try to influence their environment (resource dependency perspective) has been neglected. Both Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011) and Pache and Santos (2010) have not included external representation as part of their models, even if Pache and Santos (2010) have called for the analysis of structural factors such as relationships with other organisation in the field for favouring specific responses. While there are a handful of new studies, they only cover the theme of external representation superficially (e.g. Raaijmakers *et al.* 2015; Bohn and Walgenbach 2015; Bossard and Schedler 2015).

7.3.3.3 Profile of leaders

When considering the multiplicity of institutional demands, both Greenwood *et al.* (2011) and Kraatz and Block (2008) suggest that organisations are not necessarily equally skilled at managing in an increasingly complex environment. In fact, the findings suggest that the profile of leaders (rector and UCE head) (e.g. disciplinary background, previous experience) is an essential filter, as it influences their cognitive frames (Narayanan *et al.* 2011). The interview data seems to confirm that sensemaking (Weick *et al.* 2005) and sensegiving (Fiss and Zajac 2006; Gioia and Chittipeddi 1991) are influenced by the disciplinary background and previous experience with UCE. Interestingly, interviewees with a background in social science appear to have a more systemic view, allowing them to engage in environmental scanning, sensemaking and sensegiving, also demonstrating more reflexivity overall. As a result, they take a more proactive approach to manoeuvring for advantages. With the growing exposure to multiple logics, universities are evolving more into hybrid organisations (Jongbloed 2015). This might result in rising internal tensions, which can lead to conflicts among organisational members (Battilana and Dorado 2010). Universities are still inexperienced in managing their 'hybrid side' and cannot rely on their experience of how to handle the tension between the different logics (academe, state and market), nor do they have employees who have experience in doing so. A more recent approach focusing on the possible benefits of the ability to operate across coexisting, contradictory logics (Gibson *et al.* 2004; O'Reilly and Tushman 2013) is institutional ambidexterity (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Paula

Jarzabkowski *et al.* 2013). Ambidexterity offers a new angle to the previous view that sees institutional complexity as problematic and concentrates on avoiding conflict by keeping apart people, practices or audiences that follow contradictory logics (e.g. Seo and Creed 2002) – overlooking the fact that there might also be benefits from operating across different logics. Only in the case of University "A", do both the rector and the UCE head have a social science background. What is more, this particular UCE head brings experience in university continuing education and knowledge of managing in hybrid setups from another organisation to the job. In general, the leadership of HEI "A" takes the perspective that environmental change and institutional complexity are not just threats, but also opportunities. They believe that working to different prescriptions – although difficult – is feasible and can even benefit the university. In the cases of the other HEIs, especially in case of University B, one can argue that the phenomenon of cognitive inertia (e.g. Abrahamson and Fombrun 1994; Hodgkinson 1997) is at play, perhaps because of the university's strong organisational identity (e.g. Ravasi and Schultz 2006; Gioia *et al.* 2000; Fumasoli *et al.* 2014; Weick and Quinn 1999; Ravasi 2016). Narayanan *et al*. (2011) argue that managerial frameworks regularly trail behind changes in the external and internal environment, pointing out that cognitive inertia should be taken into account to avoid putting the organisation in danger and to grasp opportunities. The idea is also in line with the statement from some HE leaders that there is a need for better preparation for leadership roles and the development of a learning culture.

7.3.3.4 Internal communications

The findings show that despite several loci of internal representation, the institutional pressure to engage in lifelong learning is not diffused inside the HEIs. Some of the reasons have already been addressed in section 7.3.3.2; however, the interviews demonstrate there is little to no internal organisational communications, apart from some meetings among internal CE experts. The implication may be that firstly, there are few channels through which information – and the institutional pressure – can be diffused internally; and secondly, that there is little to no sensegiving. The results demonstrate that the HEIs do little to diffuse information about UCE throughout the organisation. Although the rectorate is usually visible, the lack of internal communications results in little connectivity between the senior management and other parts of the university, which potentially impedes change. Although internal representation and ties have been covered in institutional complexity literature (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Pache and Santos 2011) , internal communication (sometimes also referred to as employee, staff, HR or organisational communication) seems to have received little attention, even if some media (e.g. Anyangwe 2012; World 100 Reputation Netword 2013) have picked up on the theme in recent years. Past studies

about institutional complexity have dealt with communication as a 'black box' (Suddaby 2011), in assuming that communication takes the role of a channel or conduit disseminating information or meaning inside (and also outside) the organisation (Beckert 2010; Thornton *et al.* 2012; Cornelissen *et al.* 2015). In their article *Putting communication front and centre in institutional theory and analysis*, Cornelissen *et al*. (2015) argue that integrating the communication dynamics into the analysis institutions can enhance the explanatory power and richness of models, especially considering the recent trend to dig beneath the surface of organisations. However, in higher education research, the theme of internal communication has received minimal attention. Considering that universities have some unique characteristics that impact their structures and social relationships, one must be cautious jumping to conclusions. The traits of a loosely-coupled system, which Weick (1976, p.3) defines as one in which "coupled events are responsive, but that each event also preserves its own identity and some evidence of its physical or logical separateness" could be of particular relevance. In fact, loosely-coupled systems are advantageous in environments that are volatile and complex, especially in cases of ambiguity and coexistence of contradictory logics (Pinheiro and Stensaker 2014). At the same time, Birnbaum (2000) argues that loosely-coupled systems also pose challenges, including the tendency to preserve old ideas and slowness in responding to innovation.

7.3.4 Organisational identity

The analysis shows that lifelong learning or university continuing education is only minimally included in the universities' organisational identity, with University "A" as the exception. University "A" demonstrates an active-choice behaviour in which there has been a reframing of continuing education for the HEI to become a 'lifelong learning university' emphasising the (1) meaningfulness, (2) 'valuability' and (3) appropriateness (Wickert *et al.* 2017). Backed by the Cantonal University Law, the identity change of University "A" has been driven by the HE and UCE leadership. The case of University "B" is at the other end of the spectrum. The old and prestigious university has taken a rather passive stance on integrating UCE as part of its identity, which can also be interpreted as some kind of resistance to avoid pain, anxiety and conflicts (Brown and Starkey 2000, p.104). The findings seem to confirm Kraatz and Block's (2008) argument that institutional logics can only cause a change in behaviour after a specific identity is brought into play. They also state that a strong and positive organisational identity (such as in the case of University "A") can balance the different isomorphic pulls of the field and therefore is a foundation to successfully blend different institutional prescriptions inside the organisation (Battilana and Dorado 2010).

So, one can legitimately ask whether the universities have reached a point where they need to review their identity. Ylijoki and Ursin (2013), who have explored how academics in Finland make sense of the current transformations of Finnish higher education and the (re-)construction of university identities, use Castells' (1997) framework. It defines three types of identity building in today's knowledge society: (1) *legitimising identity* offered as dominant template by reputable institutions; (2) *resistance identity* challenging the main social trends; and (3) *project identity* developing from resistance to a new identity that will reposition the institution, potentially feeding back into the field and impacting social structures. Castells makes a point that legitimising identities are often a poor fit. In the case of higher education institutions, the decoupling strategies suggest that might be a valid argument. Resistance identities that result in positive project identities do not only have the potential to challenge and influence (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978) the neo-liberal model but may create positive project identities that have transformative power. The idea is in line with Dalpiaz, Rindova and Ravasi's (2016) argument that proactive engagement with institutional complexity and reflexivity can create opportunities to break down the boundaries between different fields and logics, resulting in the organisation engaging with contradictory prescriptions and widening the available repertoires of responses as part of organisational strategizing. It also coheres with Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011, p.341) argument that reflexivity can detach an organisation from the "imperative force of logics" and paradoxically liberate it. This links to two theoretical debates (Narayanan *et al.* 2011) that have emerged in recent years and have major implications: firstly, organisational identity might be less enduring than stated by Albert and Whetten (1985); and secondly, with the growing hybrid character of universities, the suggestion of some authors that organisations might have multiple identities deserves further exploration (Foreman and Whetten 2002; Corley 2004; Kodeih and Greenwood 2014).

7.4 Future research

The results from this study point to different possibilities for future research. First of all, it would be very valuable to analyse how the different types of institutional pressure (coercive, normative, mimetic) influence institutional responses in situations of institutional complexity. Research would also benefit from more insights into how those who exert the pressure deploy enforcement mechanisms such as regulatory power (coercive pressure) or normative authority (e.g. professional associations, accreditation agencies) through instruments such as rankings and accreditation (Dunn and Jones 2010). Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011) and Pache and Santos' (2010) also touched upon these

points in their influential papers. However, it seems that these themes have remained undeveloped. Regarding the organisational attributes, there is also ample room for additional research.

As to the institutional field, the data shows that there appears to be a connection between the degree of field formalisation and how an organisation experiences institutional complexity. However, the area would need further exploration – as well as the link between field identity and organisational identity (Kraatz and Block 2008), i.e. how they influence each other. More attention could also be given to organisations that operate across different fields (also pointed out by Greenwood *et al.* 2011), as is the case for university continuing education. And it would be important to understand better how organisations, and in particular universities, can be non-compliant while rhetorically projecting themselves in ways that they avoid being penalised (Elsbach and Sutton 1992; Deephouse and Suchman 2008; Greenwood *et al.* 2011). More insight into the motivations of decoupling could also benefit from further attention – especially in loosely coupled systems such as higher education institutions. Furthermore, it would be useful to develop a better grasp of why some organisations do and others do not stay decoupled in the long term and the (unanticipated) effects of long-term decoupling (e.g. Tilcsik 2010) on themes such as organisational identity, conflicts or tension inside the organisation (Greenwood *et al.* 2011) and organisational change. More research on successful – and also unsuccessful – variants of different hybrid configurations, in particular HEI, and how these have been diffused within the organisational field would be of equal interest.

The external representation of organisational boundary spanners on the committees and executive councils of the association (Greenwood *et al.* 2002) has attracted little attention from researchers so far and would benefit from new findings. So far, few researchers have touched upon the theme of public institutions and the external representation of organisational interests in a context of organisational complexity. Even if Pache and Santos (2010) have called for the analysis of structural factors such as relationships with other organisation in the field for favouring specific responses. Currently, there are a handful of relevant new studies, but the theme of external representation is only covered superficially (e.g. Raaijmakers *et al.* 2015; Bohn and Walgenbach 2015; Bossard and Schedler 2015). The same is true for public affairs (or lobbying) in the field of higher education – Universities UK ran its first conference on the theme in April 2018.

The situation is similar for boundary spanning. Although the theme has received significant interest, there is room to further explore the position of boundary spanners within the organisation. A recent study of Glaser *et al.* (2015) demonstrates that the effectiveness of boundary-spanners varies

depending on the hierarchical position of the actors. However, the study deals with entrepreneurship in industry. The loose coupling (Weick 1976), the exposure to different logics (academe, state, market) and the complex stakeholder map are expected to have an effect on the boundary spanning of universities. The findings also raise the question if internal representation in a HEI setting has less salience when organisational members adhere to a different logic and might be less committed to actively advocate issues that represent a different logic. Closely linked to the theme of boundary spanning is the issue of systematic environmental scanning, a practice that is relevant within the research communities, but less common practice in higher education management. Although relevant for strategizing, the theme has attracted little attention from higher education researchers (Gerald W. McLaughlin *et al.* 2015). There is also much room for more empirical exploration to better understand the effects of personal profiles and ambidexterity.

And last but not least, the findings of this thesis back Cornelissen *et al.* (2015): more research needs to integrate communication into the analysis of institutions and demonstrate that this can enhance the explanatory power – especially when going beyond the meso level inside the organisation.

7.5 Implications for practice

The findings of this study have implications for policy and field (macro) and HE management practice at both the (meso) and the micro level.

At the macro level, it would be crucial for regulatory bodies to clarify what they expect universities to deliver on. There are multiple expectations (depending on the stakeholder) involving everything from a complete lack of a continuing education offering to an integrated lifelong learning approach that is more transversal and entails themes such as widening access, distance learning (e.g. MOOCs) and recognition of prior learning. The high ambiguity is leading to isomorphic mimetic processes, which might not only result in a misfit for the HEIs' organisational identity but may also lead to increased decoupling. More clarity as to the differentiation of the roles between traditional universities and the universities of the applied sciences would also be valuable. What is more, policy bodies must acknowledge that the total self-funding of university continuing education is a myth.

Regarding the meso level, the findings have numerous implications. Along with the increased autonomy and the growing hybrid character (Jongbloed 2015) of universities, there is space for

universities to take a more resource dependency view and contribute to the debate, feed back into the field and shape their external environment. Universities can take more of an active-actor approach to managing their interdependencies. In the field of university continuing education, the more active approach could, for instance, be to raise the issue of UCE being categorised as 'non-formal education', to draw attention to the lack of public funding, prohibit cross-funding (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft 2014) and engage in a debate about an integrative lifelong learning approach as opposed to UCE. That does not mean that universities must engage in ULLL as part of their 'third mission', but they should defend their position proactively, taking their organisational identity into consideration. However, this would require more intensive boundary spanning between the HEI leadership level, regulatory bodies and the field, for instance, in the form of a working group on ULLL inside Swissuniversities where the theme is absent today. The ability to leverage agency and proactively deal with contradictory prescriptions requires a minimum degree of reflexivity, and that reflexivity has the potential to turn incompatibility into a competitive advantage (Seo and Creed 2002; Friedland and Alford 1991).

An important point is that lifelong learning has the potential to be an integrated transversal theme linking to themes such as alumni, outreach, linking with the 'outside world', knowledge transfer, teaching innovation, widening access, visibility and reputation, and could become absorbed over time into the HEI's identity. However, there are various challenges that would have to be overcome, for instance, decisions as to the intra-organisational structures (e.g. structurally differentiated hybrid versus blended hybrid), the definition of activities that 'qualify' as lifelong learning (e.g. MOOCs, distance education), the organisational identity and the required profile of UCE leaders as to ambidexterity and previous experience in LLL.

Turning to the micro level, there are some additional considerations. A large percentage of the current UCE activities are based on the initiative of single internal entrepreneurs. Many of their motivations (e.g. alumni, building of networks, dialogue with practice world, innovative teaching approaches, knowledge transfer, visibility and reputation) have the potential to be leveraged at the institutional level. However, it is also important to note that it is crucial to conserve the entrepreneurial space of these internal actors, as there is a risk that they might otherwise disengage. Also, as the programmes are linked to individual motivation, succession is also a theme that HEIs need to deal with in more depth. Leveraging know-how from mandatory UCE programmes in medicine and teacher training might be of value. Moreover, ensuring professional administration and marketing support as well as appropriate infrastructure could make a difference. And last but

not least, start-up funding and financial backing in case of difficulties play an important role in getting programmes off the ground. Additional points are the importance of the closeness of the UCE to the HEI's leadership and a reward scheme for academics to participate (e.g. part of the official teaching load).

Other recommendations are the solid external and internal representation of LLL as well as the importance of diffusion inside the organisation and internal communications. It would be useful for members of the HEIs to develop a better grasp of the increasing complexity, the different pressures and the resulting coercive, normative and mimetic processes as well as their effects on universities. This would allow for more reflexivity. Change champions can also play a key role in bringing UCE to the top of the agenda (boundary spanning, sensemaking, and persuasion).

And last but least, as higher education institutions are increasingly becoming hybrid institutions, hiring UCE senior staff who bring with them previous experience with ULLL and can operate across both the market and the academic logic (ambidexterity) could be a great asset.

7.6 Limitations

This exploratory multiple case-study has been conducted within the structure and temporary limitations imposed by the thesis' framework, which limits the scale of the research project. Despite the rich results, it is important to point out that neo-institutional and resource dependence theory have their limitations due to their generic character, which limits the use of hypothesis and hampers theory development. A number of researchers (e.g. Suddaby 2015) have also voiced their concern that institutional and resource dependence theory do not entirely account for processes inside the organisation. However, the use of Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011) organisational attributes as filters has partly counterbalanced this shortcoming, even if the framework also has limitations, particularly in terms of the possibilities for providing generalisations and predicting behaviour. By being open to the salience of multiple attributes, which potentially impact how pressures are made sense of and therefore influence responses, the authors do not weigh the relative importance of these filters. The assessment must happen as part of the analytical process between theory and empirical data. Moreover, the theoretical model is a simplified representation of organisational dynamics. The power arrangements and structures of a field are never static. They evolve with changing regulations, with emerging players and changes in organisational identity or through external shocks. The configuration of established fields is challenged during such changes, leading to new

demands. What is more, the framework limits itself to lasting conflicting demands and also does not consider that the different types of isomorphic pressures (coercive, normative, mimetic) might salience. Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011) might also want to consider to complete the number of attributes adding the profile of leaders and internal communications/diffusion.

The comparative case-studies were based on four HEI institutions in Switzerland, and not all findings can be generalised, even if a significant part of the key findings supports existing literature, suggesting that the results could be applicable to other universities. The research data also offers some novel hypotheses that need further empirical testing to confirm their generalisability. More specialised HEIs and/or different national contexts might produce diverging results. The limited availability of comparable longitudinal statistical UCE data (e.g. costs, income, number of participants, number of programmes, financial data – see 5.3.2.2) presented an important constraint. Even though the Federal Statistical Office (BFS) has made more UCE data available since the end of 2017, much remains to be done at the federal level to satisfy the need for more in-depth, comparable data. As to the data collection, it would have been useful to develop a better understanding of parts of the university detached from continuing education (e.g. faculty members not involved in UCE). Unfortunately, due to the limited scope of the project, it was only possible to conduct a small number of interviews with individuals not involved in continuing education.

8 Conclusion

Over the past ten years, universities have been increasingly expected to take an active role in progressing the European Union's lifelong learning agenda. The European Union's strongest lever has been its normative power. But so far, Swiss universities have been hesitant to integrate lifelong learning as part of a 'third mission', in addition to research and teaching. The gap between words, decisions and actions has narrowed little over the past decade. This discrepancy has been the point of departure for the research question underpinning the thesis: How do Swiss universities experience and respond to the institutional pressure of engaging in lifelong learning? To answer the question, the research project analysed the origin (sources, the degree and meaning) of institutional pressure and investigated how organisational attributes influence responses against the backdrop of institutional complexity. The thesis has drawn on a combination of neo-institutional (Zucker 1977; Meyer and Rowan 1977a; DiMaggio and Powell 1983) and resource dependence theory (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978), which has allowed for a more comprehensive understanding and better awareness of the repertoire of possible organisational responses (Sherer and Lee 2002). In order to go beyond the surface of the organisation, and better understand the internal dynamics (micro level) behind the responses, the use of Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011, p.324) analytical framework, which uses organisational attributes as filter, has allowed to deconstruct the organisation as a single, tightly integrated entity.

8.1 Sources, degrees and meaning of institutional pressure

The research findings clearly demonstrate that the institutional pressure to engage in ULLL results in all three types of isomorphic processes (coercive, normative and mimetic) being present in the field. The most acute institutional pressure derives from the high uncertainty around university lifelong learning leading to strong mimetic isomorphic processes. As a result, the four HEIs mimic other universities (national and international) as well as the universities of applied sciences (national). Moreover, the strong normative pressure exerted by the EU clearly focuses on university lifelong learning as opposed to university continuing education. However, this pressure is merely perceived inside the HEIs. As to coercive pressure, its degree varies widely depending on the origin: the pressure derived from the European level is weak; the pressure from the national level is non-existent; and at the cantonal level, the degree of pressure depends on the regulatory framework (e.g. Cantonal University Law). And what is more, most UCE programmes do not originate as a response to institutional pressure but are the result of the individual motivation of single 'entrepreneurs' inside the HEIs, which is mostly detached from the HEIs organisational strategy.

The results also suggest that Swiss university continuing education is not so much a part of the HE *field*, but rather part of a UCE sub-field located on the boundary of the field of higher education and the fragmented field of continuing education and training. In other words, UCE is a hybrid activity that is part of two institutional fields resulting in multiple (and partly diverging) logics pervading the organisation. The findings show that this does increase the institutional complexity (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Kraatz and Block 2008). It is also important to acknowledge the different LLL paradigms, which are also reflected in the terminology: university lifelong learning (or even the lifelong learning university) versus university continuing education. The EU discourse is clearly one of university lifelong learning, integrating concepts such as widening access, flexible pathways, the recognition of prior learning as well as the social, cultural and economic development of communities and the region. In case of the Swiss universities, in three out of the four cases, the HEIs limit themselves to the much narrower concept of university continuing education with a strong tendency to isolate (decoupling) the UCE unit a structurally differentiated hybrid quite distant from both the faculties and the university leadership.

The institutional complexity is also mirrored in the number of sources of institutional pressure, which naturally results in different meanings and isomorphic processes. The European Union's rather strong normative and to a small extent coercive pressure rarely penetrates the walls of the 'ivory tower'. There are several reasons: firstly, the pressure exerted by the EU is not aligned with the Swiss national continuing education policy, i.e. federal regulatory bodies do not pass the pressure on to higher education institutions. Secondly, there are few channels for the EU's ULLL pressure to penetrate the HEI's boundaries due to limited boundary spanning and few external representatives of Swiss UCE at the European level. Moreover, the boundary spanning is not conducted at the level of the HEI leadership, but by UCE senior administrators distant from organisational key decision makers. Only where there is boundary spanning will the institutional pressure enter the HEI and be perceived inside the HEI. But due to the limited number of UCE boundary spanners, there is little environmental scanning, limited sensemaking (e.g. Weick 1995, Gioia and Chittipeddi 1991; Maitlis and Christianson 2014) and minimal reflexivity. At the national level, the government exerts no coercive pressure to engage in UCE. Whereas at the cantonal level, depending on the respective university law, there is the whole bandwidth ranging from no (University "B") to weak (Universities "C" and "D") and medium-strong coercive pressure (University "A"). Overall, the different positions are not well aligned and contribute to the uncertainty around university continuing education, which pushes the HEIs to seek legitimacy

through mimetic processes. The outcome is a ‘muddling through’ rather than a reflexive approach that would create space for strategizing and coordinated management of external dependencies (incl. resources). It is also worth pointing out that a large proportion of existing UCE programmes have been launched due to the individual motivation of single ‘entrepreneurial’ faculty members inside the higher education institutions.

8.2 Responses to institutional pressure filtered by organisational attributes

As to *ownership, governance and funding structures* of the four universities, their continuing education activities are almost identical. However, the findings also indicate that the higher degree of autonomy granted to Swiss HEIs has led to growing insecurity and to questions as to what extent it is legitimate for the universities to influence the external interdependencies and resource flows (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). The analysis of the organisational responses to the institutional pressure to engage in lifelong learning shows that the four Swiss universities demonstrate a variety of strategic and structural responses. These range from apparently intentional decoupling hiding behind a “façade of acquiescence” (Oliver 1991, p.154) to well-meant buffering mechanisms (e.g. Fiss and Zajac 2006; Westphal and Zajac 2001; Tilcsik 2010) and strong commitment to lifelong learning. The findings confirm that the organisational filters (position of the organisation within a field, the ownership, governance, structure and identity) proposed by Greenwood *et al.* (2011) as well as the additional attributes profile of leaders, previous experience and ambidexterity (suggested by Greenwood *et al.*’s (2011) and Pache and Santos’ (2010)) play an essential role in the available repertoire and choice of institutional responses. However, the empirical findings also call for some additional filters: internal communications and reflexivity.

Regarding organisational *structures*, the findings reveal that the UCE centres have been set up as structurally differentiated hybrids (Greenwood *et al.* 2011). This move has allowed the four HEIs to deal with the demand to offer continuing education programmes separately from the HE core activities, reducing potential trade-offs and tensions inside the organisation (Pache and Santos 2011; Besharov and Smith 2012; Pache and Santos 2013a; Battilana and Lee 2014; Dalpiaz *et al.* 2016). In three (Universities “B”, “C” and “D”) out of the four cases, there is a strong element of decoupling. Interestingly, the findings indicate that after more than 20 years, there are concerns regarding the potential ‘costs’ of maintaining the current decoupling such as employee morale and productivity (Greenwood *et al.* 2011).

Concerning representation and boundary spanning, the data demonstrates that the UCE centre ties outside and inside the university are weak. The external representation and the proactive management of interdependencies through the representation of organisational boundary spanners not only plays an essential role in institutional pressures entering the organisation (Greenwood *et al.* 2002) but is also an important element in coping with uncertainty and influencing the field. The example of University "A" demonstrates how the UCE team has established relationships with external actors in the field to influence the task environment and to achieve some degree of power and control with the objective to secure tangible and non-tangible resources which will reduce uncertainty. Although the lack of external representation makes it difficult for demands penetrate into the organisation and therefore avoid conflicts (Besharov and Smith 2012), this also obstructs reflexivity (Seo and Creed 2002; Friedland and Alford 1991). This result also ties into the findings that despite numerous internal places of representation, a lack of *internal communications* can result in little diffusion and little connectivity between the senior management and other parts of the university which can impede change.

The findings also indicate that the *profile of leaders* is an essential filter as it influences their cognitive frames (Narayanan *et al.* 2011). Interestingly, interviewees with a social science background appear to have a more systemic view, allowing them to engage more intensely in environmental scanning, sensemaking and sensegiving and overall demonstrating more reflexivity. As universities are evolving more and more into hybrid organisations (Jongbloed 2015), they still have limited experience managing their 'hybrid side' and benefit from employees who can operate across coexisting, contradictory logics. This institutional *ambidexterity* (Greenwood *et al.* 2011; Paula Jarzabkowski *et al.* 2013) takes the perspective that working to different prescriptions – although difficult – is an opportunity instead of considering institutional complexity as problematic and concentrating on keeping apart logics.

And last but not least, *organisational identity*: the research findings demonstrate that lifelong learning or university continuing education is only minimally included in the universities' organisational identity, University "A" being the exception. The findings also confirm Kraatz and Block's (2008) argument that institutional logics can only drive behaviour after a specific identity has been activated and that a strong and positive organisational identity can balance the different isomorphic pulls of the field and is a foundation to successfully blend different institutional prescriptions inside the organisation (Battilana and Dorado 2010).

8.3 Summary

The results confirm that coexistence of several institutional logics in an organisational field can result in inconsistent expectations and even conflicting institutional demands, increasing the institutional complexity that organisations are exposed to (Jarzabkowski *et al.* 2013). However, the findings also indicate that institutional contradictions can trigger reflexivity and endogenous change, as they raise internal actors' awareness for alternative solutions to their institutionalised, taken-for-granted patterns of behaviour which might represent more favourable alternatives. The outcome is also in line with Dalpiaz, Rindova and Ravasi's (2016) argument that proactive engagement with institutional complexity and reflexivity can create possibilities to break down the boundaries between different fields and logics, resulting in the organisation engaging with contradictory prescriptions and widening the available repertoires of responses as part of organisational strategising. This also links to Greenwood *et al.*'s (2011, p.341) argument that reflexivity can detach an organisation from the "imperative force of logics" and paradoxically liberate it.

9 References

Abernethy, M.A. and Chua, W.F., 1996. A Field Study of Control System "Redesign": The Impact of Institutional Processes on Strategic Choice. *Contemporary Accounting Research*, 13(2), pp.569–606.

Abrahamson, E. and Fombrun, C.J., 1994. Determinants - determinants and consequences. *Academy of Management Review*, 19(4), pp.728–755.

Albert, S. and Whetten, D.A., 1985. Organizational identity. *Organizational Behavior*, 7, pp.263–295.

Albright, K.S., 2004. Environmental Scanning: Radar for Success. *Information Management Journal*, 38(3), pp.38–45.

Aldrich, H. and Herker, D., 1977. Boundary Spanning Roles and Organization Structure. *The Academy of Management Review*, 2(2), pp.217–230.

Altbach, P.G., Reisberg, L., and Rumbley, L.E., 2009. *Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution*.

Anand, N. and Watson, M.R., 2004. Tournament rituals in the evolution of fields: The case of the Grammy Awards. *Academy of Management Journal*, 47(1), pp.59–80.

Anyangwe, E., 2012. *Making the case for internal communications in higher education* [Online]. Available from: http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/blog/2012/jul/17/internal-communications-in-higher-education [Accessed 22 August 2018].

Arbeitsgruppe für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung Zürich, 1980. *Schweizerische Arbeiterbewegung: Dokumente zu Lage, Organisation und Kämpfen der Arbeiter von der Frühindustrialisierung bis zur Gegenwart, Vol. 2*. Zürich: Limmat Verlag.

Aunno, T.D., Succi, M., and Alexander, J.A., 2000. The Role of Institutional and Market Forces in Divergent Organizational Change. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 45(4), pp.679–703.

Baehr, P., 2001. The 'Iron Cage' and the 'Shell as Hard as Steel': Parsons, Weber, and the Stahlhartes Gehäuse Metaphor in the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. *History and Theory*, 40(2), pp.153–169.

Bagnall, R.G., 2000. Lifelong learning and the limitations of economic determinism. *International Journal of Lifelong learning*, 19(1), pp.20–35.

Bassey, M., 1999. *Case study research in educational settings*. Buckingham / Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Battilana, J. and Dorado, S., 2010. Building sustainable hybrid organizations: The case of commercial microfinance organizations. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53(6), pp.1419–1440.

Battilana, J. and Lee, M., 2014. Advancing Research on Hybrid Organizing – Insights from the Study of Social Enterprises. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 8(1), pp.397–441.

Beckert, J., 1999. Agency, Entrepreneurs, and Institutional Change. The Role of Strategic Choice and Institutionalized Practices in Organizations. *Organization Studies*, 20(5), pp.777–799.

Beckert, J., 2010. How do fields change? the interrelations of institutions, networks, and cognition in the dynamics of markets. *Organization Studies*, 31(5), pp.605–627.

Benneworth, P., de Boer, H., and Jongbloed, B., 2015. Between good intentions and urgent stakeholder pressures: institutionalizing the universities' third mission in the Swedish context. *European Journal of Higher Education*, 5(3), pp.280–296.

Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T., 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Besharov, M. and Smith, W.K., 2012. *Multiple logics within organizations: An integrative framework and model of organizational hybridity* [Online]. Ithaca, NY. Available from: http://www.hbs.edu/faculty/conferences/2013-paulrlawrence/Documents/Multiple logics within organizations_Besharov and Smith_for conference distribution_05.07.13.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2017].

Besharov, M.L. and Smith, W.K., 2014a. Multiple Institutional Logics in Organizations: Explaining Their Varied Nature and Implications. *Academy of Management Review*, 39(3), pp.364–381.

Besharov, M.L. and Smith, W.K., 2014b. Multiple Institutional Logics in Organizations: Explaining their varied Nature and Implications. *Academy of Management Review*, 39(3), pp.364–381.

BFS, 2014a. *Arbeitgeberunterstützte Weiterbildung: Weiterbildungsaktive Unternehmen und unterstützte*

Arbeitnehmende [Online]. Available from: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/de/home/aktuell/neue-veroeffentlichungen.gnpdetail.2014-0356.html [Accessed 16 April 2017].

BFS, 2014b. *BFS Aktuell: 15 Bildung und Wissenschaft - Weiterbildungsaktivitäten* [Online]. Neuchâtel: Eidgenössisches Departement des Innern EDI, Bundesamt für Statistik BFS. Available from: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/de/home/statistiken/kataloge-datenbanken/publikationen.assetdetail.349459.html [Accessed 10 April 2017].

BFS, 2017a. Öffentliche Bildungsausgaben nach Bildungsstufe, Ausgabenart und Verwaltungsebene.

BFS, 2017b. *Tertiärstufe - Hochschulen: Studierende* [Online]. Available from: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/de/home/statistiken/bildung-wissenschaft/personen-ausbildung/tertiaerstufe-hochschulen.html [Accessed 30 January 2018].

BFS, 2018. *Finanzen der universitären Hochschulen 2016* [Online]. Neuchâtel. Available from: https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/de/home/statistiken/bildung-wissenschaft/bildungsfinanzen/hochschulen.gnpdetail.2017-0049.html [Accessed 10 July 2018].

Birnbaum, R., 2000. The Life Cycle of Academic Management Fads. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 71(1), pp.1–16.

Bleiklie, I., Enders, J., and Lepori, B., 2015. Organizations as Penetrated Hierarchies: Environmental Pressures and Control in Professional Organizations. *Organization Studies*, 36(7), pp.873–896.

Bodmer, F., 2011. *Anreize und Fehlanreize im schweizerischen Hochschulsystem*. St. Gallen.

Boeije, H., 2002. A Purposeful Approach to the Constant Comparative Method in the Analysis of Qualitative Interviews. *Quality & Quantity*, 36, pp.391–409.

Bohn, S. and Walgenbach, P., 2015. Refusing, Connecting and Playing Off Conflicting Institutional Demands. In: *EGOS - European Group for Organizational Studies*. Athens, p.28.

Bolden, R., Gosling, J., O'Brien, A., Peters, K., Ryan, M., Haslam, A., Longsworth, L., Davidovic, A., and Winklemann, K., 2012. *Academic Leadership: Changing Ceonceptions, Identities and Experiences in UK Higher Education*. 3 no. 4. . London.

Borg, C. and Mayo, P., 2005. The EU Memorandum on lifelong learning. Old wine in new bottles? *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 3(2), pp.203–225.

Bossard, F. and Schedler, K., 2015. Multi-rational management of social contractors . Managing conflicts, enrichment, and indifference. In: *International Public Management Network (IPMN) Conference 2015*. Budapest, p.19.

Bourdieu, P., 1983. The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature. *Poetics 12*, 12(4–5), pp.311–356.

Boxenbaum, E. and Jonsson, S., 2008. Isomorphism, Diffusion and Decoupling. In: Royston Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby, & K. Sahlin, eds. *The SAGE handbook of organizational institutionalism*. Sage Publications Ltd., p.822.

British Educational Research Association, 2011. Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research [Online]. , p.12. Available from: https://www.bera.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/BERA-Ethical-Guidelines-2011.pdf?noredirect=1 [Accessed 7 January 2017].

Brøgger, K., 2016. The rule of mimetic desire in higher education: governing through naming, shaming and faming. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 37(1), pp.72–91.

Bromley, P. and Powell, W.W., 2012. From Smoke and Mirrors to Walking the Talk: Decoupling in the Contemporary World. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 6(1), pp.483–530.

Brown, A.D., Colville, I., and Pye, A., 2015. Making Sense of Sensemaking in Organization Studies. *Organization Studies*, 36(2), pp.265–277.

Brown, A.D. and Starkey, K., 2000. Organizational identity and learning: A psychodynamic perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, 25(1), pp.102–120.

Brunsson, N., 2006. Reforms, organization, and hope. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 22, pp.253–255.

Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, 1963. *Bundesgesetz über die Berufsbildung (vom 20. September 1963)*. Berne: Swiss Confederation. Available from: https://www.admin.ch/opc/de/classified-compilation/19630165/index.html [Accessed 20 August 2018].

Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, 2011. *Bundesgesetz über die Förderung der Hochschulen und die Koordination im schweizerischen Hochschulbereich*. Swiss Confederation. Available from: https://www.admin.ch/opc/de/classified-compilation/20070429/index.html [Accessed 18 August 2018].

Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, 2014. *Bundesgesetz über die Weiterbildung (WeBiG)*. Berne. Available from: https://www.admin.ch/opc/de/classified-compilation/20141724/index.html.

Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, 2015. *Bundesgesetz über die Förderung der Hochschulen und die Koordination im schweizerischen Hochschulbereich (HFKG)*. Berne: Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Available from: https://www.admin.ch/opc/de/federal-gazette/2011/7455.pdf.

Canhilal, S.K., Lepori, B., and Seeber, M., 2016. Decision-Making Power and Institutional Logic in Higher Education Institutions: A Comparative Analysis of European Universities. *Towards A Comparative Institutionalism: Forms, Dynamics And Logics Across The Organizational Fields Of Health Care And Higher Education*, 45, pp.169–194.

Castells, M., 1997. *The Power of Identity: Economy, Society and Culture*. Blackwell Publishers.

Cedefop, 2014. *Terminology of European education and training policy: A selection of 130 key terms*. 2nd ed. Thessaloniki: CEDEFOP European Centre for the Development of Vacational Training. Available from: http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/files/4117_en.pdf [Accessed 1 March 2018].

Cedefop, 2015. *European Guidelines for Validating Non-Formal and Informal Learning* [Online]. Thessaloniki. Available from: www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/publications/4054 [Accessed 20 May 2016].

Choo, C.W., 2001. Environmental scanning as information seeking and organizational learning. *Information Research*, 7(1), pp.1–37.

Chung, C.-N. and Luo, X., 2008. Institutional Logics or Agency Costs: The Influence of Corporate Governance Models on Business Group Restructuring in Emerging Economies. *Organization Science*, 19(5), pp.766–784.

Cleaver, F., 2012. Reinventing Institutions: Bricolage and the Social Embeddedness of Natural Resource Management. *The European Journal of Development Researc*, 14(2), pp.11–30.

Cohen, M.D. and March, J.G., 1986. Leadership in an organized anarchy. In: *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President*. Harvard Business School Press, pp.16–35.

Cole, W.M., 2004. *Accrediting Culture: Legitimacy Pressures and Resource Exigencies at Tribal Colleges and Universities*.

Commission of the European Communities, 2000. *A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* [Online]. Brussels. Available from: http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/MemorandumEng.pdf [Accessed 24 June 2015].

Commission of the European Communities, 2001. Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality - 21.11.2001 (COM(2001) 678 final). , pp.1–40.

Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education, 2009. Communiqué of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education, Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve, 28-29 April 2009 [Online]. , (April), p.6. Available from: http://www.ehea.info/media.ehea.info/file/2009_Leuven_Louvain-la-Neuve/06/1/Leuven_Louvain-la-Neuve_Communique_April_2009_595061.pdf [Accessed 9 March 2017].

Corley, K.G., 2004. *Defined by our strategy or our culture? Hierarchical differences in perceptions of organizational identity and change*.

Cornelissen, J.P., Durand, R., Fiss, P.C., Lammers, J.C., and Vaara, E., 2015. Putting communication front and center in institutional theory and analysis. *Academy of Management Review*, 40(1), pp.10–27.

Cornell University, INSEAD, and World Intellectual Property Organization, 2017. *The Global Innovation Index 2017*. S. Dutta, B. Lanvin, & S. Wunsch-Vincent, eds. World, Ithaca, Fontainebleau and Geneva. Available from: https://www.globalinnovationindex.org/gii-2017-report.

Council of Europe, 1996. Council Conclusions of 20 December 1996 on a strategy for lifelong learning (97/C 7/02). *Official Journal of the European Communities*, 40(10.01.1997), pp.6–12.

Council of Europe, 2009. Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ('ET 2020'). *Official Journal of the European Union*, 2009/C 11, pp.2–9.

Cranmer, M., Von Erlach, E., Bernier, G., and Statistik, S.B. für, 2013. *Lebenslanges Lernen in der Schweiz: Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus Aus- und Weiterbildung 2011*. Neuchâtel: BFS.

Creswell, J.W., 2009. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Crilly, D., Zollo, M., and Hansen, M.T., 2012. Faking it or muddling through? Understanding decoupling in response to

stakeholder pressures. *Academy of Management Journal*, 55(6), pp.1429–1448.

Crozier, M. and Friedberg, E., 1980. *Actors and systems: the politics of collective action*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

CRUS, 2012. Vernehmlassung der CRUS zum Vorentwurf für ein Bundesgesetz über die Weiterbildung (WeBiG) [Online]. , p.7. Available from: https://www.swissuniversities.ch/fileadmin/swissuniversities/Dokumente/Kammern/Kammer_UH/Stellungnahmen/CRUS_120412_Vernehmlassung_WeBiG__2_.pdf [Accessed 3 March 2017].

Curaj, A., Scott, P., Vlasceanu, L., and Wilson, L. eds., 2012. *European Higher Education at the Crossroads: Between the Bologna Process and National Reforms*. New York & London: Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg.

D'Aunno, T., Sutton, R.I., and Price, R.H., 1991. Isomorphism and external support in conflicting institutional environments: a study of drug abuse treatment units. *Academy of Management Journal*, 34(3), pp.636–661.

Dacin, M.T., Goodstein, J., and Scott, W.R., 2002. Institutional Theory and Institutional Change: Introduction to the Special Research Forum [Online]. *Academy of Management Journal*, 45(1), pp.43–56. Available from: 10.5465/AMJ.2002.6283388 [Accessed 19 June 2017].

Dacin, M.T., Kostova, T., and Roth, K., 2008. Institutional Theory in the Study of Multinational Corporations: a Critique and New Directions. *Academy of Management Review*, 33(4), pp.994–1006.

Dalpiaz, E., Rindova, V., and Ravasi, D., 2016. Combining Logics to Transform Organizational Agency: Blending Industry and Art at Alessi [Online]. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 61(3), pp.347–392. Available from: http://asq.sagepub.com/content/early/2016/02/26/0001839216636103?papetoc.

Damoc, A.-I., 2017. The strategic role of partnerships between universities and private corporations as a driver for increasing workforce competitiveness in a global economy [Online]. *Proceedings of the International Conference on Business Excellence*, 11(1). Available from: http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/picbe.2017.11.issue-1/picbe-2017-0118/picbe-2017-0118.xml.

Dean, K.L., 2008. *At the Base of the Bridge: A Case Study of Boundary Spanning by Members of A University's Presidential Leadership Team*. University of Maryland.

Deephouse, D.L. and Heugens, P.P.M.A.R., 2009. Linking social issues to organizational impact: The role of infomediaries and the infomediary process. In: *Journal of Business Ethics*. pp.541–553.

Deephouse, D.L. and Suchman, M., 2008. Legitimacy in Organizational Institutionalism. In: R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby, & K. Sahlin, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*. Sage Publications, pp.49–77.

DiMaggio, P.J. and Powell, W.W., 1983. The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), pp.147–160.

Djelic, M.L. and Quack, S., 2007. Overcoming path dependency: Path generation in open systems. *Theory and Society*, 36(2), pp.161–186.

Dunn, M.B. and Jones, C., 2010. Institutional Logics and Institutional Pluralism: The Contestation of Care and Science Logics in Medical Education, 1967–2005. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 55(1), pp.114–149.

Durand, R. and Jourdan, J., 2012. Jules or Jim: Alternative Conformity to Minority Logistics. *Academy of Management Journal*, 55(6), pp.1295–1315.

EDA, 2016. *Schweiz-EU in Zahlen* [Online]. Berne. Available from: https://www.eda.admin.ch/dea/de/home/dienstleistungen-publikationen/schweiz-eu-in-zahlen.html [Accessed 20 September 2017].

Eggs, C., Jonckheere, S. De, Ndiaye, B., Bernhard, W., and Bittel, N., 2013. *Lifelong Learning at Swiss Higher Education Institutions* [Online]. Geneva. Available from: http://www.unige.ch/formcont/sfc/projetsEU/LLLSwissHigherEducationInstitutions.pdf [Accessed 25 March 2016].

Eisenhardt, K.M., 1989. Building Theories from Case Study Research. *The Academy of Management Review*, 14(4), pp.532–550.

Elken, M., 2017. Standardization of (Higher) education in Europe – Policy coordination 2.0? [Online]. *Policy and Society*, 36(1), pp.127–142. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14494035.2017.1278873.

Elsbach, K.D. and Sutton, R.I., 1992. Acquiring Organizational Legitimacy Through Illegitimate Actions: a Marriage of Institutional and Impression Management Theories. *Academy of Management Journal*, 35(4), pp.699–738.

Enders, J., 2004. Higher Education, Internationalisation, and the Nation-State: Recent Developments and Challenges to Governance Theory. *Higher Education*, 47(3), pp.361–382.

Enders, J., 2016a. The Institutional Dynamics of European Intergration and Higher Education. In: N. Cloete, L. Goedegebuure, Å. Gornitzka, J. Jungblut, & B. Stensaker, eds. *Pathways Through Higher Education Research - A Festschrift in Honor of Peter Maasen*. Oslo: University of Oslo, Department of Education, pp.57–60.

Enders, J., 2016b. The Rise and Fall of System's Thinking Towards a Post-Bourdieuan Study of Field Dynamics in Higher Education. In: *New Languages and Landscapes for Higher Education*. Chapter for the OUP book New Languages and Landscapes for Higher Education. Oxford University Press, p.13.

Enders, J. and de Boer, H., 2009. The Mission Impossible of the European University: Institutional Confusion and Institutional Diversity. In: P. Maassen, C. Musselin, & G. Neave, eds. *European integration and the governance of higher education and research*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp.159–178.

Enders, J., de Boer, H., and Weyer, E., 2012. Regulatory autonomy and performance: the reform of higher education re-visited. *Higher Education*, 65(1), pp.5–23.

EPFL, 2018. *Center for Digital Education: MOOCs Factory* [Online]. Available from: https://moocs.epfl.ch/ [Accessed 22 July 2018].

EUA, 2008. European Universities' Charter on Lifelong Learning [Online]. , p.12. Available from: http://www.eua.eu/News/08-10-24/Europe_s_universities_launch_charter_for_lifelong_learning.aspx [Accessed 7 March 2017].

EUCEN, 2007a. *From University Lifelong Learning (ULLL) to Lifelong Learning Universities (LLLU) - BeFlex Plus Thematic Report, Executive Summary*. Barcelona.

EUCEN, 2007b. *The Bologna process and university lifelong learning: the state of play and future directions* [Online]. Barcelona. Available from: http://www.eucen.eu/BeFlex/FinalReports/BeFlexDPreports.pdf [Accessed 11 March 2017].

EUCEN, 2009. *From University Lifelong Learning (ULLL) to Lifelong Learning Universities (LLLU) - BeFlex Plus Thematic Report (Executive Summary)* [Online]. Barcelona. Available from: www.eucen.org/BeFlex/index.html [Accessed 15 March 2017].

EUCEN, 2011. *ALLUME: A Lifelong Learning University Model for Europe - Progress Report (Public Part)* [Online]. Barcelona. Available from: http://allume.eucen.eu/ [Accessed 20 August 2018].

EUCEN, 2012a. *ALLUME - A Lifelong Learning University Model for Europe (Final Report - Public Part)*.

EUCEN, 2012b. *COMPASS LLL: Collaboration On Modern(izing) Policies and Systematic Strategies on LLL*. Barcelona.

EUCEN, 2012c. *Compass LLL: LLL-Policy Implementation - Trends and Recommendations*. Barcelona.

EUCEN and Davies, P. on behalf of the project partnership, 2009. *From University Lifelong Learning (ULLL) to Lifelong Learning Universities (LLLU). BeFlex Plus: Progress on Flexibility in the Bologna Reform. Thematic Report* [Online]. Barcelona. Available from: http://www.eucen.eu/BeFlexPlus/Reports/ThematicReport_FINAL.pdf [Accessed 30 June 2018].

European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2018. *The European Higher Education Area in 2018: Bologna Process Implementation Report*. Luxembourg.

European Commission, 1994. Growth, competitiveness, employment - The challenges and ways forward into the 21st century (White Paper). *White Paper*, p.167.

European Commission, 2001. Communication from the Commission: Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality - COM(2001) 678 final. , (November), p.42.

European Commission, 2012. *Education and Training Monitor 2012* [Online]. 2012th ed. . Brussels. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/education/library/publications/monitor13_en.pdf [Accessed 2 July 2018].

European Commission, 2016. *A New Skills Agenda for Europe; COM(2016) 381 final* [Online]. Brussels: European Commission. Available from: https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regdoc/rep/1/2016/EN/1-2016-381-EN-F1-1.PDF.

European Commission, 2017a. *European Education and Training Monitor 2017* [Online]. Available from: https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/education/files/monitor2017_en.pdf.

European Commission, 2017b. Strengthening European Identity through Education and Culture. , (November), p.14.

European Commission, Commission, E., and European Commission, 1993. *Growth, competitiveness, employment - The*

challenges and ways forward into the 21st century (white paper). Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. Available from: https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1997/10/13/b0633a76-4cd7-497f-9da1-4db3dbbb56e8/publishable_en.pdf [Accessed 20 April 2018].

European Communities, 1997. *Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties establishing the European Communities and Certain Related Acts*. Luxembourg.

European Council, 2000. Presidency Conclusions: Lisbon European Council [Online]. , (March), pp.1–17. Available from: http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/PRESIDENCY_CONCLUSIONS_Lissabon.pdf.

European Union, 2013. *Key figures on Europe: 2013 digest of the online Eurostat yearbook*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3930297/5969538/KS-EI-13-001-EN.PDF/98fe7e02-d76a-45b9-9c72-7af791c672c2?version=1.0.

European Union, 2016. *Education and Training Monitor 2016* [Online]. Brussels. Available from: ec.europa.eu/education/monitor.

European Union, 2017. *Unemployment statistics* [Online]. Available from: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/extensions/EurostatPDFGenerator/getfile.php?file=129.187.9.25_1411475696_21.pdf [Accessed 3 January 2017].

European Union, 2018. *Eurostat - Adult participation in learning (in% of population aged 25-64)* [Online]. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=sdg_04_60&plugin=1 [Accessed 10 July 2018].

European University Association, 2008. European Universities' Charter on Lifelong Learning. , p.12.

Faure, E., 1972. *Learning to be - The world of education today and tomorrow*. Paris: UNESCO.

Fenton, C. and Langley, A., 2011. Strategy as Practice and the Narrative Turn. *Organization Studies*, 32(9), pp.1171–1196.

Fischer, A., 2014. *Arbeitsdokument Geschäftsstelle SWIR 3/2014: Hochschulweiterbildung in einem heterogenen Feld - Bericht zu Handen der Geschäftsstelle des Schweizerischen Wissenschafts- und Innovationsrats*. Berne.

Fiss, P.C. and Zajac, E.J., 2006. The Symbolic Management of Strategic Change: Sensegiving via Framing and Decoupling. *The Academcy of Management Journal*, 49(6), pp.1173–1193.

Fligstein, N., 1990. *The Transformation of Corporate Control*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,.

Flyvbjerg, B., 2006. Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research [Online]. C. Seale, D. Gobo, J. F. Gubrium, & D. Silverman, eds. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), pp.219–245. Available from: http://qix.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/1077800405284363 [Accessed 11 December 2013].

Foreman, P. and Whetten, D.A., 2002. Members' Identification with Multiple-Identity Organizations. *Organization Science*, 13(6), pp.618–635.

Freeman, R.E., 1994. The Politics of Stakeholder Theory: Some Future Directions. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 4(4), pp.409–421.

Frey, H.-R., 2013. ULLL in der Schweiz: Passt zusammen, was zusammen wachsen soll? In: *Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für wissenschaftliche Weiterbildung und Fernstudium an der Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München zum Thema „Wächst zusammen, was zusammen gehört? Wissenschaftliche Weiterbildung - berufsbegleitendes Studium - leben*. Munch, p.12.

Friedland, R. and Alford, R.R., 1991. Bringing Society Back In: Symbols, Practices and Institutional Contradictions. In: W. W. Powell & P. J. Dimaggio, eds. *In The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp.232–263.

Frølich, N., Huisman, J., Slipersæter, S., Stensaker, B., and Bótas, P.C.P., 2013. A reinterpretation of institutional transformations in European higher education: Strategising pluralistic organisations in multiplex environments. *Higher Education*, 65(1), pp.79–93.

Fumasoli, T. and Huisman, J., 2013. Strategic Agency and System Diversity: Conceptualizing Institutional Positioning in Higher Education. *Minerva*, 51(2), pp.155–169.

Fumasoli, T., Pinheiro, R., and Stensaker, B., 2015. Handling Uncertainty of Strategic Ambitions—The Use of Organizational Identity as a Risk-Reducing Device [Online]. *International Journal of Public Administration*, (August), pp.1–11. Available from: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01900692.2014.988868.

Fumasoli, T., Pinheiro, R., Stensaker, B., and Pinheiro, R., 2014. *Strategizing Identity in Higher Education* [Online].

ISL Working Paper no. 2014:3. . Agder: University of Agder, Department of Political Science and Management. Available from: https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/handle/11250/218725 [Accessed 24 April 2017].

Gerald W. McLaughlin, Howard, R.D., and Bramblett, S., 2015. Institutional Research ahd Planning in Higher Education in the United States and Canada. In: K. L. Webber & A. J. Calderon, eds. *Institutional Research and Planning in Higher Education: Global Context and Themes*. Routledge.

Gibson, C.C.B., Birkinshaw, J., Gibson, C.C.B., and Birkinshaw, J., 2004. The antecedents, consequences, and mediating role of organizational ambidexterity. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 47(2), pp.209–226.

Gioia, D.A. and Chittipeddi, K., 1991. Sensemaking and sensegiving in strategic change initiation. *Strategic Management Journal*, 12(6), pp.433–448.

Gioia, D.A., Schultz, M., and Corley, K.G., 2000. Organizational Identity, Image, and Adaptive Instability. *The Academy of Management Review*, 25(1), pp.63–81.

Gioia, D.A. and Thomas, J.B., 1996. Identity, Image , and Issue Interpretation: Sensemaking during Strategic Change in Academia. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 41(3), pp.370–403.

Gioia, D.A., Thomas, J.B., Clark, S.M., and Chittipeddi, K., 1994. Symbolism and Strategic Change in Academia: The Dynamics of Sensemaking and Influence. *Organization Science*, 5(3), pp.363–383.

Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L., 1965. The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. *Social Problems*, 12(4), pp.436–445.

Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L., 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine de Gruyter.

Glaser, L., Fourné, S.P.L., and Elfring, T., 2015. Achieving strategic renewal: the multi-level influences of top and middle managers' boundary-spanning. *Small Business Economics*, 45(2), pp.305–327.

Glesne, C., 2010. *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction*. 4th, ed. Prentice Hall.

Glynn, M.A., 2008. Beyond constraint: How institutions enable identities. In: R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, K. Sahlin, & R. Suddaby, eds. *The SAGE handbook of organizational institutionalism*. London: Sage Publications, pp.413–430.

Goodrick, E. and Salancik, G.R., 1996. Organizational discretion in responding to institutional practices: Hospitals and cesarean births. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 41(1), pp.1–28.

Gornitzka, Å., 2006. The Open Method of Coordination as practice - A watershed in European education policy ? , (16), pp.1–58.

Gornitzka, Å., Maassen, P., and de Boer, H., 2017. Change in university governance structures in continental Europe. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 71(3), pp.274–289.

Greenwood, R. and Hinings, C.R., 1996. Understanding Radical Organizational Change: Bringing together the Old and the New Institutionalism. *The Academy of Management Review*, 21(4), pp.1022–1054.

Greenwood, R., Hinings, C.R., and Whetten, D., 2014. Rethinking Institutions and Organizations. *Journal of Management Studies*, 6(November).

Greenwood, R. and Miller, D., 2010. Tackling Design Anew: Getting Back to the Heart of Organizational Theory. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 24(4), pp.78–88.

Greenwood, R., Raynard, M., Kodeih, F., Micelotta, E.R., and Lounsbury, M., 2011. Institutional Complexity and Organizational Responses. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 5(1), pp.317–371.

Greenwood, R., Suddaby, R., and Hinings, C.R., 2002. Theorizing change: The role of professional associations in the transformation of institutionalized fields. *Academy of Management Journal*, 45(1), pp.58–80.

Greenwood, R., Suddaby, R., and Suddaby, R.O.Y., 2006. Institutional Entrepreneurship in Mature Fields: The Big Five Accounting Firms. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(1), pp.27–48.

Grek, S. and Ozga, J., 2010. Governing education through data: Scotland, England and the European education policy space. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36(6), pp.937–952.

Grenier, C. and Bernardini-Perinciolo, J., 2015. Strategic and Envorced Logics Hybridization: An Agency View within French Hostpitals and Universities. *Towards a Comparative Institutionalism: Forms, Dynamics and Logics Across the Organizational Fields of Health and Higher Education - Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 45, pp.107–142.

Greve, H.R., 1998. Managerial Cognition And The Mimetic Adoption of Market Positions: What You See Is What You

Do. *Strategic Management Journal*, 19(November 1997), pp.967–988.

Guston, D.H. and Keniston, K. eds., 1994. *The Fragile Contract: University Science and the Federal Government*. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.

Hatch, M.J. and Zilber, T., 2012. Conversation at the Border Between Organizational Culture Theory and Institutional Theory. *Journal of Management In*, 21(1), pp.94–97.

Hazy, J.K., Tivnan, B.F., and Schwandt, D.R., 2003. The impact of boundary spanning on organizational learning: computational explorations. *Emergence*, 5(4), pp.86–123.

Heimer, C.A., 1999. Competing Institutions: Law, Medicine, and Family in Neonatal Intensive Care. *Law & Society Review*, 33(1), pp.17–66.

Herepath, A., 2014. In the Loop: A realist approach to structure and agency in the practice of strategy. *Organization Studies*, 35(6), pp.857–879.

Hessels, J. and Terjesen, S., 2010. Resource dependency and institutional theory perspectives on direct and indirect export choices. *Small Business Economics*, 34(2), pp.203–220.

Heusinkveld, S., Benders, J., and Hillebrand, B., 2013. Stretching Concepts: The Role of Competing Pressures and Decoupling in the Evolution of Organization Concepts. *Organization Studies*, 34, pp.7–32.

High Level Group on the Modernisation of Higher Education, 2013. *Report to the European Commission on improving the quality of teaching and learning in Europe's higher education institutions* [Online]. Luxembourg. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/repository/education/library/reports/modernisation_en.pdf [Accessed 2 February 2017].

Hochschulrat, 2015. Richtlinien des Hochschulrates für die Akkreditierung im Hochschulbereich (Akkreditierungsrichtlinien HFKG). , pp.1877–1890.

Hodgkinson, G.P., 1997. Cognitive inertia in a turbulent market: The case of UK residential estate agents. *Journal of Management Studies*, 34(6), pp.921–945.

Højgaard Christiansen, L. and Lounsbury, M., 2013. Strange Brew: Bridging Logics Via Institutional Bricolage and the Reconstitution of Organizational Identity. In: M. Lounsbury & E. Boxenbaum, eds. *Institutional Logics in Action, Part B*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp.199–232.

Den Hond, F. and Bakker, F.G.A., 2007. Ideologically Motivated Activism: How Activist Groups Influence Corporate Social Change Activities. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(3), pp.901–924.

Huisman, J. and Fumasoli, T., 2014. Organisational boundaries and institutional change in higher education. In: *Paper prepared for the 27th CHER Annual Conference, Rome 8-10 September 2014 Abstract*. Rome, pp.153–154.

Ingram, P. and Simons, T., 1995. Institutional and Resource Dependence Determinants of Responsiveness to Work-Family Issues. *Academy of Management Journal*, 38(5), pp.1466–1482.

Jarzabkowski, P., Le, J.K., and Van de Ven, a. H., 2013. Responding to competing strategic demands: How organizing, belonging, and performing paradoxes coevolve. *Strategic Organization*, 11(3), pp.245–280.

Jarzabkowski, P., Sillince, J. a., and Shaw, D., 2009. Strategic ambiguity as a rhetorical resource for enabling multiple interests. *Human Relations*, 63(2), pp.219–248.

Jarzabkowski, P., Smets, M., Bednarek, R., Burke, G.G., and Spee, P., 2013. Institutional Ambidexterity: Leveraging Institutional Complexity in Practice. In: M. Lounsbury & E. Boxenbaum, eds. *Institutional Logics in Action, Part B*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp.37–61.

Jepperson, R.L., 1991. Institutions, institutional effects, and institutionalism. *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*, 6, pp.143–163.

Jongbloed, B., 2015. Universities as hybrid organizations: Trends, drivers, and challenges for the European university. *International Review of Public Administration*, 45(3), pp.207–225.

Jongbloed, B., Enders, J., and Salerno, C., 2008. Higher education and its communities: Interconnections, interdependencies and a research agenda. *Higher Education*, 56(3), pp.303–324.

Katz, D. and Kahn, R.L., 1966. *The social psychology of organizations*. New York: Wiley.

Kim, T.-Y., Shin, D., Oh, H., and Jeong, Y.-C., 2007. Inside the Iron Cage: Dynamics and Presidential Selection. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 52, pp.286–323.

Kleibrink, A., 2011. The EU as a Norm Entrepreneur: The case of lifelong learning. *European Journal of Education*,

46(1), pp.70–84.

Kodeih, F. and Greenwood, R., 2014. Responding to Institutional Complexity: The Role of Identity. *Organization Studies*, 35(1), pp.7–39.

Kot, F.C. and Hendel, D.D., 2012. Emergence and growth of professional doctorates in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia: a comparative analysis. *Studies in Higher Education*, 37(3), pp.345–364.

Kraatz, M.S., 1998. Learning by association? Interorganizational networks and adaption to environmental change. *Academy of Management Journal*, 41(6), pp.621–643.

Kraatz, M.S. and Block, E.S., 2008. Organizational Implications of Institutional Pluralism. In: R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, K. Sahlin-Andersson, & R. Suddaby, eds. *The Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Dehli, Singapore: Sage Publications Ltd., p.840.

Kraatz, M.S., Zajac, E.J., Review, A.S., and Oct, N., 1996. Exploring the Limits of the New Institutionalism: The Causes and Consequences of Illegitimate Organizational Change. *American Sociological Review*, 61(5), pp.812–836.

Kuhn, T., 2012. Second Thoughts on Paradigms. , pp.1–22.

Kuhn, T.S., 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2nd ed. The University of Chicago.

Laine, P.-M. and Vaara, E., 2015. Participation in strategy work. In: D. Golsorkhi, L. Rouleau, D. Seidl, & E. Vaara, eds. *Cambridge Handbook of Strategy*. Cambridge, UK.

Lawn, M., 2011. Standardizing the European education policy space. *European Educational Research Journal*, 10(2), pp.259–272.

Leblebici, H., Salancik, G.R., Copay, A., and King, T., 1991. Institutional Change and the Transformation of Interorganizational Fields: An Organizational History of the U.S. Radio Broadcasting Industry. *Administrative Science Quartely*, 36(3), pp.333–363.

Lee, M., Thayer, T., and Madyun, N., 2008. The evolution of the European Union's lifelong learning policies: an institutional learning perspective. *Comparative Education*, 44(4), pp.445–463.

Lepori, B. and Fumasoli, T., 2010. Reshaping the Swiss Higher Education System: Governance Reforms and Fields reconfigurations. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 16(4), pp.811–814.

Levy, Y. and Ellis, T.J., 2006. A Systems Approach to Conduct an Effective Literature Review in Support of Information Systems Research. *Informing Science Journal*, 9, pp.183–212.

Lewin, K., 1939. Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology: Concepts and Methods. *American Journal of Sociology*, 44(6), pp.868–896.

Lindblom, C.E., 1959. The Science of 'Muddling Through'. *Public Administration Review*, 19(2), pp.79–88.

Lok, J., 2010. Institutional logics as identity projects. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53(6), pp.1305–1335.

Lord, C.J., 2002. Comparing Jacques Delors and Jacques Santer as Presidents of the European Commission: Skill in Supranational Context. *Politics & Policy*, 30(2), pp.324–346.

Lounsbury, M., 2001. Institutional Sources of Practice Variation: Staffing College and University Recycling Programs. *Administrative Science Quarterlyly*, 46(1), pp.29–56.

Lounsbury, M., 2007. A tale of two cities: Competing logics and practice variation in the professionalizing of mutual funds. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(2), pp.289–307.

Lounsbury, M. and Crumley, E.T., 2007. New Practice Creation: An Institutional Perspective on Innovation. *Organization Studies*, 28(7), pp.993–1012.

Maassen, P., 2008. Consultations of European stakeholders: Background documents for the Bologna Seminar in Ghent - European Higher Education in Search of a New Institutional Order. In: *Bologna Seminar organised by the Flemish Community of Belgium and Luxembourg*. Ghent: European Higher Education Area, p.1. Available from: http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/BolognaSeminars/Ghent2008_background_documents.htm [Accessed 21 April 2015].

Maitlis, S. and Christianson, M., 2014. Sensemaking in Organizations: Taking Stock and Moving Forward. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 8(1), pp.57–125.

March, J.G. and Olsen, J.P., 1976. *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations*. 2nd ed. Bergen, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

March, J.G. and Simon, H.A., 1992. *Organizations*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell.

Marquis, C., Glynn, M.A., Mizruchi, M., and Owen, J., 2007. Vive La Résistance : Competing Logics and the Consolidation of US Community Banking. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50(4), pp.799–820.

McNeill, P. and Chapman, S., 2005. *Research Methods*. 4th ed. London and New York: Routledge.

Meyer, J.W. and Rowan, B., 1977a. Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), pp.340–363.

Meyer, J.W. and Rowan, B., 1977b. Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony [Online]. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), pp.340–363. Available from: http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/226550.

Meyer, J.W., Scott, R.W., Strang, D., Scott, W.R., and Strang, D., 1987. Centralization, Fragmentation, and School District Complexity. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 32(2), pp.186–201.

Meyer, J.W., Scott, W.R., and Strang, D., 1986. *Centralization, fragmentation, and school district complexity*. Stanford.

Miller, P.M., 2008. Examining the work of boundary spanning leaders in community contexts. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 11(4), pp.353–377.

Mintzberg, H., Ahlstrand, B., and Lampel, J., 1998. *Strategy Safari*. New York: The Free Press.

Misangyi, V.F., 2016. Institutional complexity and the meaning of loose coupling: Connecting institutional sayings and (not) doings. *Strategic Organization*, 14(4), pp.407–440.

Mizruchi, M.S. and Fein, L.C., 1999. The Social Construction of Organizational Knowledge: A Study of the Uses of Coercive, Mimetic, and Normative Isomorphism. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44(4), pp.653–683.

Moldoveanu, M. and Narayandas, D., 2016. *The Skills Gap and the Near-Far Problem in Executive Education and Leadership Development*.

Naidoo, R., 2004. Fields and institutional strategy: Bourdieu on the relationship between higher education, inequality and society. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25(4), pp.457–471.

Narayanan, V.K., Zane, L.J., and Kemmerer, B., 2011. The Cognitive Perspective in Strategy: An Integrative Review. *Journal of Management*, 37(1), pp.305–351.

Nath, J., 2005. The roles of case study in the educational field. *International Journal of Case Method Research & Application*, 17(3), pp.396–400.

Neave, G., 2006. Redefining the Social Contract [Online]. *Higher Education Policy*, 19(3), pp.269–286. Available from: http://www.palgrave-journals.com/doifinder/10.1057/palgrave.hep.8300130 [Accessed 28 December 2014].

Norris, N., 2007. Error, bias and validity in qualitative research. *Educational Action Research*, 5(1), pp.172–176.

O'Reilly, C. and Tushman, M.L., 2013. Organizational Ambidexterity : Past, Present and Future. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 27(4), pp.324–338.

Ocasio, W., 1997. Towards an Attention-Based View of the Firm. *Strategic Management Journal*, 18(Summer 1997 Special Issue: Organizational and Competitive Interactions), pp.187–206.

Ocasio, W., Loewenstein, J., and Nigam, A., 2015. How Streams of Communication Reproduce and Change Institutional Logics: the Role of Categories. *Academy of Management Review*, 40(1), pp.28–48.

OECD, 2007. *Education and Training Policy Qualifications Systems BRIDGES TO LIFELONG LEARNING*.

OECD, 2014. *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators* [Online]. Education at a Glance. . Paris: OECD Publishing. Available from: http://www.oecd.org/education/Education-at-a-Glance-2014.pdf [Accessed 15 March 2018].

OECD, International Monetary Fund, The World Bank, and International Labor Organization, 2016. *Enhancing employability: Report prepared for the G20 Employment Working Group with inputs from the International Monetary Fund* [Online]. Available from: http://www.oecd.org/els/emp/Enhancing-Employability-G20-Report-2016.pdf [Accessed 1 February 2018].

Oliver, C., 1991. Strategic Responses to Institutional Processes. *Academy of Management Review*, 16(1), pp.145–179.

Pache, A.-C., 2010. *When Competing Logics Enter Organizations: The Politics of Organizational Responses to Conflicting Institutional Demands* [Online]. Cergy Pontoise. Available from: http://www.egosnet.org/jart/prj3/egos/resources/dbcon_def/uploads/_fp_st07_Pache_6943_Pache2011-

whencompetinglogicsenterorganziationsjune2011.pdf [Accessed 7 October 2016].

Pache, A.-C. and Santos, F., 2013a. Embedded in Hybrid Contexts: How Individuals in Organizations Respond to Competing Institutional Logics. In: *Institutional Logics in Action, Part B*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp.3–35.

Pache, A.-C. and Santos, F., 2013b. Inside the hybrid organization: Selective coupling as a response to competing institutional logics. *Academy of Management Journal*, 56(4), pp.972–1001.

Pache, A.-C. and Santos, F.M., 2010. When Worlds Collide: The Internal Dynamics of Organizational Responses to Conflicting Institutional Demands. *Academy of Management Review*, 35(3), pp.455–475.

Pache, A.-C. and Santos, F.M., 2011. *Inside the Hybrid Organization: An Organizational Level View of Responses to Conflicting Institutional Demands* [Online]. Cergy Pontoise. Available from: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2328257 [Accessed 20 September 2016].

Palthe, J., 2014. Regulative, Normative, and Cognitive Elements of Organizations: Implications for Managing Change [Online]. *Management and Organizational Studies*, 1(2), pp.59–66. Available from: http://www.sciedu.ca/journal/index.php/mos/article/view/4666 [Accessed 15 July 2017].

Park, S.H., Kim, J.N., and Krishna, A., 2014. *Bottom-Up Building of an Innovative Organization: Motivating Employee Intrapreneurship and Scouting and Their Strategic Value*.

Parveva, T., Motiejunaite, A., Noorani, S., and Riihelainen, J., 2016. *Structural Indicators for Monitoring Education and Training Systems in Europe - 2016 / Eurydice Background Report to the Education and Training Monitor 2016* [Online]. Brussels. Available from: http://eurydice.indire.it/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Structural-indicators-–-Final-report-under-embargo-until-7-November.pdf [Accessed 20 August 2018].

Paul J. DiMaggio, 1988. Interest and agency in institutional theory. In: L. G. Zucker, ed. *Institutional patterns and organizations: Culture and environment*. PublicationCambridge: Ballinger Publishing Co., pp.3–22.

Peng, M.W., 2003. Institutional Transitions and Strategic Choices. *The Academy of Management Review*, 28(2), pp.275–296.

Peng, M.W. and Heath, P.S., 1996. The Growth of the Firm in Planned Economics in Transitions: Institutions, Organizations and Strategic Choice. *The Academy of Management Review*, 21(2), pp.492–528.

Pettigrew, A.M., 1990. Longitudinal Field Research on Change: Theory and Practice. *Organization Science*, 1(3), pp.267–293.

Pfeffer, J., 2003. Introduction to the Classic Edition. In: *The External Control of Organizations*. United States: Stanford University Press, p.336.

Pfeffer, J. and Salancik, G.R., 1978. *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective*. Stanford, CA: Longman Higher Education.

Pinheiro, R. and Stensaker, B., 2014. Designing the Entrepreneurial University: The Interpretation of a Global Idea. *Public Organization Review*, 14(4), pp.497–516.

Punch, K.F., 2005. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Purdy, J.M. and Gray, B., 2009. Conflicting logics, mechanisms of diffusion, and multilevel dynamics in emerging institutional fields. *Academy of Management Journal*, 52(2), pp.355–380.

Qu, S.Q. and Dumay, J., 2011. The qualitative research interview. *Qualitative Research in Accounting and Management*, 8(3), pp.238–264.

Raaijmakers, A.G.M., Vermeulen, P.A.M., Meeus, M.T.H., and Zietsma, C., 2015. I need time! Exploring pathways to compliance under institutional complexity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 58(1), pp.85–110.

Rao, H., Monin, P., and Durand, R., 2003. Institutional Change in Toque Ville: Nouvelle Cuisine as an Identity Movement in French Gastronomy. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(4), pp.795–843.

Ravasi, D., 2016. Organizational Identity, Culture, and Image. In: M. G. Pratt, M. Schultz, B. E. Ashforth, & D. Ravasi, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Organizational Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.1–17. Available from: http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199689576.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199689576-e-25 [Accessed 14 July 2018].

Ravasi, D. and Schultz, M., 2006. Responding to Organizational Identity Threats; Exploring the Role of Organizational Culture. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(3), pp.433–458.

Raynard, M., 2016. Deconstructing complexity: Configurations of institutional complexity and structural hybridity [Online]. *Strategic Organization*, 14(4), pp.310–335. Available from: http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1476127016634639.

Reichert, S., 2007. *Universitäre Weiterbildung in der Schweiz: Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven im europäischen Vergleich* [Online]. Berne. Available from: https://edudoc.ch/record/24427?ln=de [Accessed 15 March 2018].

Reichert, S. and Tauch, C., 2003. *Trends 2003: Progress towards the European Higher Education Area* [Online]. Geneva. Available from: http://www.eua.be/Libraries/higher-education/trends2003final-1065011164859.pdf?sfvrsn=0 [Accessed 15 June 2018].

Rindova, V.P., Dalpiaz, E., and Ravasi, D., 2011. A Cultural Quest: A Study of Organizational Use of New Cultural Resources in Strategy Formation. *Organization Science*, 22(2), pp.413–431.

Sandberg, J. and Tsoukas, H., 2014. Making sense of the sensemaking perspective: Its constituents, limitations, and opportunities for further development. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 36, pp.6–32.

Sandmann, L.R., Jordan, J.W., and Mull, C.D., 2014. Measuring Boundary-Spanning Behaviors in Community Engagement. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*, 18(3), pp.83–104.

Sarantakos, S., 2005. *Social research*. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., and Thornhill, A., 2015. *Research Methods for Business Students*. 7th ed. Financial Times Prent.

SBFI, 2016. *Titelschutz im schweizerischen Hochschulbereich* [Online]. Berne. Available from: https://www.sbfi.admin.ch/dam/sbfi/de/dokumente/2016/09/titelschutz-hs.pdf.download.pdf/titelschutz_d.pdf [Accessed 1 July 2018].

SBFI, 2018. *Bundesbeiträge für Kurse, die auf eidgenössische Prüfungen vorbereiten* [Online]. Available from: https://www.sbfi.admin.ch/sbfi/de/home/bildung/hbb/finanzierung.html [Accessed 20 August 2018].

Schläfli, A. and Gonon, P., 1999. *Weiterbildung in der Schweiz: Situation und Perspektiven*. Frankfurt/M: Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung (DIE) 1.

Schläfli, A. and Sgier, I., 2014. *Porträt Weiterbildung Schweiz*. 3rd ed. Bielefeld: W. Bertelsmann Verlag GmbH & Co. KG.

von Schnurbein, G. and Fritz, T.M., 2014. *Philanthropie für die Wissenschaft: Wie Schweizer Stiftungen die Forschung unterstützen* [Online]. CEPS Forschung & Praxis no. 11. . Basel. Available from: https://edudoc.ch/record/112148/files/Wissenschaftsfoerderung_web.pdf [Accessed 20 August 2018].

Der Schweizerische Bundesrat, 2014a. Vereinbarung zwischen dem Bund und den Kantonen über die Zusammenarbeit im Hochschulbereich [Online]. , (November), pp.4149–4154. Available from: https://www.admin.ch/opc/de/classified-compilation/20143159/201503030000/414.205.pdf.

Der Schweizerische Bundesrat, 2014b. Verordnung zum Hochschulförderungs- und -koordinationsgesetz. , (November), pp.4137–4148.

Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 2016. *Verordnung über die Weiterbildung (WeBiV)*. Berne: Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft.

Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 1989. *Botschaft des Bundesrates über Sondermassnahmen zugunsten der beruflichen und universitären Weiterbildung sowie zur Förderung neuer Technologien im Fertigungsbereich (CIM)*. Berne.

Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 1997. *Bericht des Bundesrates über die Umsetzung der Technologiepolitik des Bundes* [Online]. Berne. Available from: https://www.econ.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:00000000-4d95-c13b-0000-00006c310e58/Bericht_UmsetzungderTechnologiepolitik1997.pdf [Accessed 23 November 2017].

Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2017. Ausführungsbestimmungen zur Koordination und Förderung im Hochschulbereich verabschiedet [Online]. , p.2. Available from: https://www.admin.ch/gov/de/start/dokumentation/medienmitteilungen.msg-id-64632.html [Accessed 5 January 2018].

Schweizerisches Bundesrat, 2007. *06.3823 Interpellation: Berufliche Weiterbildung* [Online]. Available from: https://www.parlament.ch/de/ratsbetrieb/suche-curia-vista/geschaeft?AffairId=20063823 [Accessed 1 January 2018].

Scott, W.R., 2005. Institutional Theory: Contributing to a Theoretical Research Program. In: *Great minds in management: the process of theory development.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.460–484.

Scott, W.R., 2008. of institutional adulthood : the maturing theory Approaching [Online]. *Springer*, 37(5), pp.427–442. Available from: http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.uu.nl/stable/pdf/40345595.pdf?acceptTC=true.

Scott, W.R., 2013a. Institutional Processes and Organization Fields. In: *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interests, and Identities*. Sage Publications Ltd., pp.219–259.

Scott, W.R., 2013b. *Institutions and organizations: Ideas, Interests, and Identities*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Scott, W.R., 2014. *Institutions and Organizations*. 4th ed. Stanford University, USA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Scott, W.R. and Davis, G.F., 2006. *Organizations and Organizing: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems Perspectives*. 6th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Seeber, M., Lepori, B., Montauti, M., Enders, J., de Boer, H., Weyer, E., Bleiklie, I., Hope, K., Michelsen, S., Mathisen, G.N., Frølich, N., Scordato, L., Stensaker, B., Waagene, E., Dragsic, Z., Kretek, P., Krücken, G., Magalhães, A., Ribeiro, F.M., Sousa, S., Veiga, A., Santiago, R., Marini, G., and Reale, E., 2015. European Universities as Complete Organizations? Understanding Identity, Hierarchy and Rationality in Public Organizations. *Public Management Review*, 17(10), pp.1444–1474.

Selznick, P., 1949. *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Berkeley, University of California Press.

Seo, M.-G. and Creed, W.E.D., 2002. Institutional Contradictions, Praxix, and Institutional Change: A Dialectical Perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, 27(2), pp.222–247.

Sherer, P.D. and Lee, K., 2002. Institutional Change in Large Law Firms: A Resource Dependency and Institutional Perspective. *The Academcy of Management Journal*, 45(1), pp.102–119.

Simon, H.A., 1979. Rational Decision Making in Business Organizations. *The American Economic Review*, 69(4), pp.493–513.

Smets, M. and Jarzabkowski, P., 2013. Reconstructing institutional complexity in practice: A relational model of institutional work and complexity. *Human Relations*, 66(10), pp.1279–1309.

Smets, M., Morris, T., and Greenwood, R., 2012. From Pratice to Field: A Multilevel Model of Practice-driven Institutional Change. *Academy of Management Executive*, 55(4), pp.877–904.

Smidt, H. and Sursock, A.A., 2011. *Engaging in Lifelong Learning: Shaping Inclusive and Responsive University Strategies* [Online]. Brussels. Available from: http://www.eua.be/Libraries/publication/engaging_in_lifelong_learning-(3).pdf?sfvrsn=0 [Accessed 27 August 2017].

Stensaker, B., 2015. Organizational identity as a concept for understanding university dynamics. *High5er Educationer Education*, 69, pp.103–115.

Stensaker, B., Frølich, N., Huisman, J., Waagene, E., Scordato, L., and Bótas, P.P., 2014. Factors affecting strategic change in higher education. *Journal of Strategy and Management*, 7(2), pp.193–207.

Stensaker, B. and Norgård, J.D., 2001. Innovation and isomorphism: A case-study of university identity struggle 1969 – 1999. *Higher Education*, 42, pp.473–492.

Stryker, R., 2000. Legitimacy processes as institutional politics: Implications for theory and research in the sociology of organizations. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 17, pp.179–223.

Suddaby, R., 2011. How communication institutionalizes: A response to Lammers. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 25(1), pp.183–190.

Suddaby, R., 2015. Can Institutional Theory Be Critical? [Online]. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 24(1), pp.93–95. Available from: http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1056492614545304.

Sursock, A., 2015. *Trends 2015: Learning and Teaching in European Universities* [Online]. Brussels. Available from: http://eua.be/Libraries/publications-homepage-list/EUA_Trends_2015_web [Accessed 22 January 2018].

Sursock, A. and Smidt, H., 2010. *Trends 2010: a decade of change in European Higher Education* [Online]. Brussels. Available from: www.eua.be [Accessed 5 July 2018].

Sutton, H., 1988. *Competitive intelligence*. Research report/the Conference Board no. 913. . New York, NY.

Tesch, R., 1990. *Qualitative Research: Analysis Types and Software Tools*. Bristol, PA: Falmer Press.

Thomas, J.B., Clark, S.M., and Gioia, D.A., 1993. Strategic Sensemaking and Organizational Performance: Linkages

among Scanning, Interpretation, Action, and Outcomes. *Academy of Management Journal*, 36(2), pp.239–270.

Thornton, P.H., 2004. *Markets from Culture: Institutional Logic and Organizational Decisions in Higher Education Publishing*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Thornton, P.H., Jones, C., and Kury, K., 2005. Institutional Logics and Institutional Change in Organizations: Transformation in Accounting, Architecture, and Publishing. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 23(05), pp.125–170.

Thornton, P.H. and Ocasio, W., 1999. Institutional Logics and the Historical Contingency of Power in Organizations: Executive Succession in the Higher Education Publishing Industry, 1958-1990. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(3), pp.801–843.

Thornton, P.H. and Ocasio, W., 2008. Institutional Logics. In: R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby, & K. Sahlin, eds. *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*. SAGE Publications Ltd, pp.99–129.

Thornton, P.H., Ocasio, W., and Lounsbury, M., 2012. *The Institutional Logics Perspective: A New Approach to Culture, Structure, and Process*. Oxford University Press.

Tilcsik, A., 2010. From ritual to reality: Demography, ideology, and decoupling in a post-communist government agency. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53(6), pp.1474–1498.

Titz, J.-P., 1981. The Council of Europe's "Permanent Education". *European Journal Vocational Training*, (6), pp.43–47.

Tolbert, P. and Zucker, L., 1983. Institutional Sources of in the Formal Change Structure of Organizations: The Diffusion of Civil Service Reform, 1880-1935. *Administrative science quarterly*, 28(1), pp.22–39.

Turner, N., Swart, J., and Maylor, H., 2013. Mechanisms for Managing Ambidexterity: A Review and Research Agenda. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 15(3), pp.317–332.

UNESCO, 2010. *Global Report on Adult Learning and Education*. 2nd ed. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning.

Universität Bern, 2016. Hochschulweiterbildung Schweiz 2025. Wege in die Zukunft. Zoom no. 6. T. E. Zimmermann & A. Fischer, eds. , p.56.

Vansteenhuyse, K. and De Jong, M., 2012. FLLLEX: The Impact of LifeLong Learning Strategies on Profession-oriented Higher Education in Europe (presenation MASON workshop). , p.21.

Villani, E. and Philips, N.W., 2013. Beyond Institutional Complexity: The Case of Different Organizational Successes in Confronting Multiple Institutional Logics. In: *35th DRUID Celebration Conference 2013*. Barcelona, p.40. Available from: https://conference.druid.dk/acc_papers/eesnlnejbp1pp7q5026jfxgfveqy.pdf [Accessed 6 January 2017].

Viron, F. de, Feutrie, M., and Filloque, J.-M., 2011. *ALLUME: Pathways and Policies – Recommendations* [Online]. Barcelona. Available from: http://allume.eucen.eu/sites/allume.eucen.eu/files/ALLUME-Tools and Results.pdf [Accessed 1 July 2017].

Viron, F. de, Seppälä, K., Santos, L.T. Dos, Filloque, J.-M., and on behalf of the COMMIT consortium, 2015. *COMMIT – Embedding the LLL contribution for social engagement into University structures and practices – Technical Report* [Online]. F. U. on behalf of the C. consortium Françoise de Viron, Simon Enthoven, Kari Seppälä, Lucilia Santos, Jean-Marie Filloque, Yannis Kablan, ed. . Barcelona: EUCEN European University Continuing Education Network. Available from: http://commit.eucen.eu/sites/default/files/COMMIT_Technical_Repport_FINAL.pdf [Accessed 15 April 2018].

Volles, N., 2016. Lifelong learning in the EU: changing conceptualisations, actors, and policies. *Studies in Higher Education*, 41(2), pp.343–363.

Vught, F. Van and Huisman, J., 2013. Institutional Profiles: Some Strategic Tools. *Tuining Journal for Higher Education*, (1), pp.21–36.

Wallace, M. and Wray, A., 2011. *Critical Reading and Writing for Postgraduates*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Weber, M., 1930. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. First Engl. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Webster, J. and Watson, R.T., 2002. Analyzing the Past to Prepare for the Future: Writing a Literature Review. *MIS Quarterly*, 26(2), pp.13–23.

Weerts, D.J. and Sandmann, L.R., 2010. Community Engagement and Boundary-Spanning Roles at Research

Universities Author(s): *The Journal of Higher Education*, 81(6), pp.632–657.

WEF, 2017. *The Global Competitiveness Report 2017-2018* [Online]. K. Schwab, Sala-i-Martín, & Xavier, eds. . Geneva: World Economic Forum. Available from: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2017-2018/05FullReport/TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2017–2018.pdf [Accessed 15 March 2018].

WEF, 2018. *European Union | Explore | TOPLINK* [Online]. Available from: https://toplink.weforum.org/knowledge/insight/a1Gb0000000LHMsEAO/explore/summary [Accessed 6 July 2018].

Weick, K.E., 1976. Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 21(1), pp.1–19.

Weick, K.E., 1993. The Collapse of Sensemaking in The Organizations: Mann Gulch Disaster. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 38(4), pp.628–652.

Weick, K.E., 1995. *Sensemaking in Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Weick, K.E. and Quinn, R.E., 1999. Orgranizational change and development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 50, pp.361–386.

Weick, K.E., Sutcliffe, K.M., and Obstfeld, D., 2005. Organization Science and the Process of Sensemaking. *Organization Science*, 16(4), pp.409–421.

Westphal, J.D. and Zajac, E.J., 2001. Decoupling policy from practice: The case of stock repurchase programs. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 46(2), pp.202–228.

Wickert, C., Vaccaro, A., and Cornelissen, J., 2017. "Buying" Corporate Social Responsibility: Organisational Identity Orientation as a Determinant of Practice Adoption. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 142(3), pp.497–514.

Williams, R., De Rassenfosse, G., Jensen, P., and Marginson, S., 2018. *U21 Ranking of National Higher Education Systems*. Birmingham.

Wolter, S.C., Cattaneo, M.A., Denzler, S., Diem, A., Grossenbacher, S., Hof, S., and Oggenfuss, C., 2014. *Swiss Education Report 2014*. Aarau.

Wooten, M. and Hoffman, A.J., 2008. Organizational Fields: Past, Present and Future. In: R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby, & K. Sahlin, eds. *the SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*. Los Angeles, London, New Dehli, Singapore: Sage Publications Ltd., pp.130–149.

World 100 Reputation Netword, 2013. *Internal Communications Survey (HELiX) results released - World 100 Reputation Network* [Online]. Available from: https://www.theworld100.com/internal-communications-survey-helix-results-released/ [Accessed 15 August 2018].

Wry, T., Cobb, J.A., and Aldrich, H.E., 2013. More than a Metaphor: Assessing the Historical Legacy of Resource Dependence and its Contemporary Promise as a Theory of Environmental Complexity. *Academy of Management Annals*, 7(1), pp.441–488.

Wry, T., Lounsbury, M., and Glynn, M.A., 2013. Legitimating Nascent Collective Identities: Coordinating Cultural Entrepreneurship. *Organization Science*, 22(3), pp.226–245.

Yin, R.K., 2013. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 5th ed. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Ylijoki, O.H. and Ursin, J., 2013. The construction of academic identity in the changes of Finnish higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*, 38(8), pp.1135–1149.

Zald, M.N. and Lounsbury, M., 2010. The Wizards of Oz: Towards an Institutional Approach to Elites, Expertise and Command Posts. *Organization Studies*, 31(7), pp.963–996.

Zilber, T.B., 2002. Institutionalization As an Interplay Between Actions , Meanings , and Actors : the Case of a Rape Crisis Center in Israel. *Academy of Management Journal*, 45(1), pp.234–255.

Zilber, T.B., 2016. How institutional logics matter: A bottom-up exploration. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 48A(December), pp.137–155.

Zomer, A.H., Jongbloed, B.W.A., and Enders, J., 2010. Do Spin-Offs Make the Academics' Heads Spin? *Minerva*, 48(3), pp.331–353.

Zucker, L.G., 1977. The Role of Institutionalization in Cultural Persistence. *American Sociological Review*, 42(5), pp.726–743.

Zucker, L.G., 1987. Institutional Theories of Organization. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13, pp.443–464.

10 Appendices

10.1 List of interviewees

A total of 42 interviews were carried out, 36 of which took place inside the four Universities. The remaining five interviews took place with senior leaders from the policy bodies, UCE/LLL associations and with one external higher education expert. For a description of the different roles within the HEIs, see Chapter 3.3.3.2.

	University "A"	**University "B"**	**University "C"**	**University "D"**	**LLL/HE policy bodies**	**UCE/LLL associations**	**External HE expert**
Senior Leadership					3	2	1
Rector	1	1	1	1			
Vice-rector in charge of UCE	1	1	1	1			
UCE senior staff	3	2	1	1			
UCE programme directors	3	4	3	4			
Faculty not involved in UCE	1	2	1	2			
Total	**9**	**10**	**7**	**10**	**3**	**2**	**1**

10.2 Interview questions

	THEME	OPERATIONALISED QUESTION	INTERVIEWEES											
			Universities						Experts	Regulatory & professional bodies				
			Leadership		UCE			Faculty						
		X = questions of first priority (X) = questions of second priority (time permitting)	Rector	Vice-rector (UCE centre)	UCE Head	UCE Team	UCE Programme directors	Academic staff not involved in UCE	HE/LLL Experts	Confederation	Swiss-universities (former rectors'	Swissuni (UCE professional	EUCEN	UNESCO
1	**POLICY**													
1.01	Locus	Where do the political general LLL discussion and the university LLL discussion happen?	**(X)**	**(X)**					**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**
1.02	Locus/Retrospect	What is the position of the State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation SERI (Staatssekretariat für Bildung, Forschung und Innovation SBFI) on university LLL today? Have there been any changes over the years?								**X**	**X**			
1.03	Extracted cues	Which are the relevant events and issues which have shaped LLL policy, and in particular HE UCE policy over the past 25 years?	**(X)**		**X**					**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	
1.04	Retrospect	Can you elaborate on the "Weiterbildungsoffensive" (WBO) 1990-1996/1999 (The task was to build up university UCE specifically offering academic continuing education programs to a highly qualified workforce? At the same time, other providers should focus on more practical competences) which allocated CHF 100 million to the 12 Swiss HEI to build up their UCE offering. What was behind this political will? What triggered it? What were the political expectations at the time?			**X**				**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**		
1.05	Retrospect	Why was the "Weiterbildungsoffensive" (WBO) initiative discontinuing, or let's say, why has they been no additional funding for UCE since?			**X**					**X**		**X**		
1.06	Retrospect	"Weiterbildungsoffensive" (WBO): What exactly encouraged the HEIs to invest into building up their UCE (money, political expectations, competition, normative pressures ...)?	**(X)**		**X**					**X**	**X**	**X**		
1.07	EU discourse	How do you interpret the ever-sharper EU LLL discourse (over the past 10 years) in general and the university Lifelong Learning discourse of the European Union? Does the EU LLL discourse have any influence on Swiss politics, HEIs or other players?	**(X)**	**X**						**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**

	THEME	OPERATIONALISED QUESTION	INTERVIEWEES											
			Universities						Experts	Regulatory & professional bodies				
			Leadership		UCE			Faculty						
		X = questions of first priority (X) = questions of second priority (time permitting)	Rector	Vice-rector (UCE centre)	UCE Head	UCE Team	UCE Programme directors	Academic staff not involved in UCE	HE/LLL Experts	Confederation	Swiss-universities (former rectors'	Swissuni (UCE professional	EUCEN	UNESCO
1.08	EU discourse	Switzerland's educational minister signed the Leuven Declaration (2009): "(University) lifelong learning will be supported by adequate organisational structures and funding. Lifelong learning encouraged by national policies should inform the practice of higher education institutions. What are your thoughts on that? Do you think the signature of the Leuven Declaration had an impact on Swiss UCE policy?	**(X)**	**X**						**X**	**(X)**	**X**	**X**	**X**
1.09	Position	The continuing education and training market is a very busy one with numerous players. In Switzerland, HEIs today have about 7% of the pie. Which role do you see for HEIs in offering UCE programs? Which role are they expected to play in the future?	**(X)**	**(X)**	**X**					**X**	**(X)**	**X**	**X**	**X**
1.10	Lobbying	How do you see the Swiss HEIs defend their LLL interests? How much power do Swiss HEIs have (or the whole sector) to influence their external space? Who represents the LLL interests of the HE sector (boundary spanners) with the confederation/policy makers? Who are the major actors? How strong is the (potential) influence (power) of Swissuniversities (the new Rector's Conference of Swiss Universities since Jan. 2015) on LLL policy? And which channels of communication are used (personnel meetings, conferences, email, websites, ...) and how frequently? Has there been a change over the years?	**X**	**(X)**						**X**	**(X)**	**X**	**X**	
1.11	Lobbying	What is the influence (power) of Swissuni (association representing the UCE activities of Swiss HEIs How are they constituted? How often are they listened to?	**(X)**	**(X)**	**X**				**X**		**X**	**(X)**	**X**	
1.12	New "Law on continuing education"	Did the "Weiterbildungsoffensive" (WBO) have an impact on the more recent "Weiterbildungsgesetzt" (effective as of 01.01.2017)?	**X**	**(X)**	**X**				**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**		

	THEME	OPERATIONALISED QUESTION	INTERVIEWEES											
			Universities						Experts	Regulatory & professional bodies				
			Leadership		UCE			Faculty						
		X = questions of first priority (X) = questions of second priority (time permitting)	Rector	Vice-rector (UCE centre)	UCE Head	UCE Team	UCE Programme directors	Academic staff not involved in UCE	HE/LLL Experts	Confederation	Swiss-universities (former rectors'	Swissuni (UCE professional	EUCEN	UNESCO
1.13	New "Law on continuing education"	The new "Weiterbildungsgesetzt" that will be effective as of 01.01.2017 triggered over 170 positioning papers from the numerous market players. What was the power of the CRUS (Swissuniversitites) as to influence the new law on continuing education? - The CRUS only issues one positioning paper. Why?	**X**	**(X)**	**X**						**X**	**X**		
1.14	New "Law on continuing education"	According to the new Swiss law of continuing education (effective as of 01.01.2015) the non-formal continuing education stands for all 'structured education and training which is not part of formal education' (art. 3), i.e. all continuing education offering that does not lead to a nationally recognised diploma. What is the rationale behind categorising continuing education programs as non-formal? (the universities had pronounced themselves against that)?		**(X)**	**(X)**				**X**	**X**	**(X)**	**X**		
1.15	Reporting on HE UCE programs	Why does the reporting structure require such little info on HE UCE programs (ex. BFS only >60 ECTS)?	**(X)**						**X**	**X**	**(X)**	**(X)**		
1.16	Reporting on HE UCE programs	To which extent does the Bundesamt für Statistik (BFS) try to align its reporting structure (parameters, reference periods) with other international organisations?							**X**	**X**				
1.17	Expertise	As how strong do you see the LLL interest and capability of Swiss HEIs to offer programmes (build programs aligned with market needs, run and market them well) as a third mission?	**X**	**X**	**X**				**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	
1.18	Financing	Today, Swiss HEIs do not receive any subsidies for running UCE programs. How do you feel about that?	**X**	**X**	**X**				X		**X**	**X**		
1.19	Wording	Do you use the expressions LLL, continuing education, adult education, executive education (Lifelong Learning, Weiterbildung, Erwachsenenbildung, Executive Education) interchangeably? Has there been a change the way these expressions are used?	**(X)**	**(X)**	**X**					**X**	**(X)**	**X**	**X**	
2	**FIELD**													

	THEME	OPERATIONALISED QUESTION	INTERVIEWEES											
			Universities						Experts	Regulatory & professional bodies				
			Leadership		UCE			Faculty						
		X = questions of first priority (X) = questions of second priority (time permitting)	Rector	Vice-rector (UCE centre)	UCE Head	UCE Team	UCE Programme directors	Academic staff not involved in UCE	HE/LLL Experts	Confederation	Swiss-universities (former rectors'	Swissuni (UCE professional	EUCEN	UNESCO
2.01	Actors	To which extent have you observed a change of who is part of the field and how the field is interconnected over the past 20 years?	**X**	**X**	**X**		**X**		**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**
2.02	Actors	How do you see the different actors bound to one another?	**X**	**X**						**X**	**X**			**X**
2.03	Governance/power	How would you describe the power structure/hierarchy in the field?	**X**	**X**						**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**
2.04	Governance/power	How do you see the governance role of the confederation and Swissuniversities? Have Swiss HEIs gained autonomy over the past 10 years?	**X**	**X**					**X**	**X**	**X**			
2.05	Governance/power	Government subsidies for UCE go to the universities of applied sciences and professional associations. What are your thoughts on this?	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	
2.06	Position	If you look at your HEI - which institutions are your reference points for you, i.e. who do you compare yourself with (regional, national, international) generally?	**X**	**X**	**X**	**(X)**	**(X)**							
2.07	Position	If you look at your UCE activities, where do you see yourself positioned within the field? And who do you compare yourself with?	**X**	**X**	**(X)**	**(X)**	**(X)**							
2.08	Normative pressure	Why did the Swiss universities sign the European Universities' Charter for Lifelong Learning (2008: HEIs to provide research-based higher education for lifelong learners / funding is an issue/ governments commit to providing incentives for HEIs to offer LLL)? To which extent has the signature of the European Universities' Charter for LLL had any impact on the Swiss HEIs?	**X**	**X**	**X**				**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**		**X**
2.09	Responses to institutional pressures	On the one hand, HEIs are to offer research-based UCE programs, on the other hand government does not offer many incentives for HEIs to get involved in LLL. What are your thoughts on that?	**X**	**X**	**(X)**				**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**	
2.10	Responses to institutional pressures	How do you perceive the responses of other Swiss HEIs to the CH and EU LLL discourse? Why do you think the other HEIs invest or don't invest in LLL?	**X**	**X**	**(X)**	**(X)**			**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	

	THEME	OPERATIONALISED QUESTION	INTERVIEWEES												
			Universities						Experts	Regulatory & professional bodies					
			Leadership		UCE			Faculty							
		X = questions of first priority (X) = questions of second priority (time permitting)	Rector	Vice-rector (UCE centre)	UCE Head	UCE Team	UCE Programme directors	Academic staff not involved in UCE	HE/LLL Experts	Confederation	Swiss-universities (former rectors'	Swissuni (UCE professional	EUCEN	UNESCO
2.11	Responses to institutional pressures	To which extent does the action/non-action of other Swiss HEIs influence your own decisions?	**X**	**X**	**(X)**							**X**		
2.12	Responses to institutional pressures	There is the Swiss HE policy, but to which extent does the EU discourse (or other international HE discourses) have any effect on your HEI? And why?	**X**	**X**	**(X)**							**X**		
3	**STRATEGIZING, ORGANIZING & IDENTITY**													
3.01	Mission/vision	What role does UCE/LLL play in the current "profile" (vision/mission) of the university? Is the UCE/LLL mission explicit? Is UCE/LLL thoroughly persuasive prospect of university life or essentially marginal in nature?	**X**	**X**	**X**			**X**						
3.02	Mission/vision	Why does your HEI engage in UCE/LLL? (resource dependency <--> legitimacy <--> isomorphism)	**X**	**X**	**X**			**X**						
3.03	Mission/vision	To which extent is UCE/LLL seen as part of what a "university has to do" by members of the organisation?	**X**	**X**	**X**			**X**						
3.04	Stakeholders	How has the ever more complex stakeholder environment and the multitude of demands impacted your HEIs strategy?	**X**	**X**	**X**									
3.05	Governance/power	How is the overall HE strategy process organised - is it more of a planned approach (participants, roles, processes (timing, location, tools, techniques, documents, reviews) or more of an emergent one? To which extent is the overall strategy/vision of the HEI created by single persons, the top leadership and/or bottom up?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**									
3.06	Governance/power	How is the UCE/LLL strategy process organised - is it more of a planned approach (participants, roles, processes (timing, location, tools, techniques, documents, reviews) or more of an emergent one? To which extent is the UCE/LLL strategy/vision of the HEI created by single persons, the top leadership and/or bottom up?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**									

	THEME	OPERATIONALISED QUESTION	INTERVIEWEES											
			Universities						Experts	Regulatory & professional bodies				
			Leadership		UCE			Faculty						
		X = questions of first priority (X) = questions of second priority (time permitting)	Rector	Vice-rector (UCE centre)	UCE Head	UCE Team	UCE Programme directors	Academic staff not involved in UCE	HE/LLL Experts	Confederation	Swiss-universities (former rectors'	Swissuni (UCE professional	EUCEN	UNESCO
3.07	Governance/power	To which extent has the HEI established organisational goals and formulated objectives for organisational subunits with instruments to measure results (specifically for LLL)?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**			**X**						
3.08	Governance/power	Representation: how is the representation of UCE throughout the HEI (absent, single, multiple)?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**									
3.09	LLL Strategy	Is the general strategy/LLL strategy a reaction to the environmental change?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**									
3.10	LLL Strategy	Is the UCE/LLL vision/mission converted into strategic priorities?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**									
3.11	LLL Strategy	Is there a commission that discusses strategic plan as to UCE/LLL - and if so, how often does it meet?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**									
3.12	LLL Strategy	How is the reaction of faculty not involved in UCE to increased engagement in LLL?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**						
3.13	Change agents	Can you identify any champions/change agents for the UCE/LLL?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**									
3.14	Organizing	Structure follows strategy and strategy is driven by environmental changes. Have you adapted the UCE structures? Why yes/no? And if so, how?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**									
3.15	Culture	How would you describe the HEI's culture (norms, values, believes - how we do things around here - innovative, collegial, entrepreneurial, clan, market-driven)?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**			**X**						
3.16	Strategy communication	How is the vision and strategy (general and UCE/LLL) communicated inside the organisation (channels, frequency, target audience)?	**(X)**	**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**						
3.17	Responses to conflicting demands	Have you been exposed to different (competing) institutional logics in the past and how do you relate to them?					**X**							

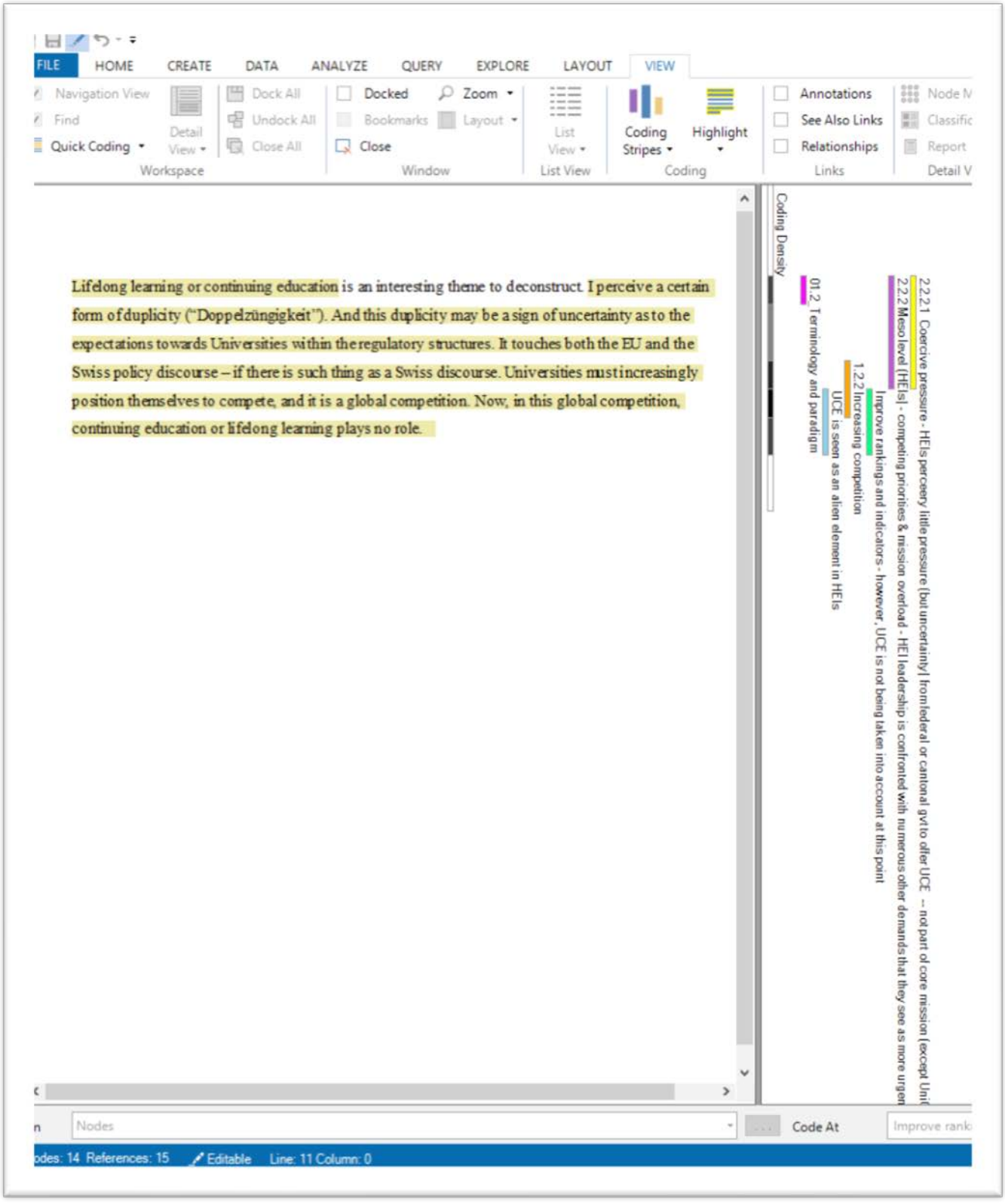
	THEME	OPERATIONALISED QUESTION	INTERVIEWEES												
			Universities						Experts	Regulatory & professional bodies					
			Leadership		UCE			Faculty							
		X = questions of first priority (X) = questions of second priority (time permitting)	Rector	Vice-rector (UCE centre)	UCE Head	UCE Team	UCE Programme directors	Academic staff not involved in UCE	HE/LLL Experts	Confederation	Swiss-universities (former rectors'	Swissuni (UCE professional	EUCEN	UNESCO
3.18	Responses to conflicting demands	When you see the increased stress on LLL, how are your feelings as to the demands for a LLLU? How do you feel concerning these demands for a LLLU? Positive, negative, uncertain about where this is going or ambivalent (role conflict, mission overload)?	**X**	**X**	**X**									
3.19	Responses to conflicting demands	How do the individuals, teams, organisation, ... react to the LLL activities? Do they remain indifferent, avoid, manipulate, compromise or embrace?			**X**		**X**	**X**						
3.20	Responses to conflicting demands	Which are the major enablers or blocks for moving toward more ULLL?			**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**						
4	**BOUNDARY SPANNING AND SENSEMAKING/-GIVING**													
4.01	Intra-organisational sensemaking	How do these UCE/LLL boundary spanners transmit the information into the organization and vice versa? How is the information summarized and shared with the different organizational units (filtering, interpreting, avoiding information overload)? Especially with the different UCE/LLL programmes? (gatekeepers, knowledge brokers, boundary spanners)	**X**	**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**				**X**	**X**	
4.02	Stakeholders	Which are the different UCE/LLL bodies and networks that the HEI actively participates in (policymakers, interest groups, associations, ERFA groups, industry, etc. at regional, national, international level)? And which channels are used (personal meetings, conferences, emails, ...)?	**X**	**X**	**X**	**(X)**	**X**	**X**						
4.03	Scanning and interpretation	How much time do you spend interacting with stakeholders outside the university?	**X**	**X**	**X**		**X**							
4.04	Knowledge transfer	How does the organisation ensure the relationships (networks) and the knowledge remains in the organisation when there is change?	**X**	**X**	**X**									
5	**LIFELONG LEARNING ACTIVITIES**													
5.01	Definition	What do you see as lifelong learning? What is the wording you use internally?			**X**	**X**								

	THEME	OPERATIONALISED QUESTION	INTERVIEWEES											
			Universities						Experts	Regulatory & professional bodies				
			Leadership		UCE			Faculty						
		X = questions of first priority (X) = questions of second priority (time permitting)	Rector	Vice-rector (UCE centre)	UCE Head	UCE Team	UCE Programme directors	Academic staff not involved in UCE	HE/LLL Experts	Confederation	Swiss-universities (former rectors'	Swissuni (UCE professional	EUCEN	UNESCO
5.02	Scope	What is the scope of your UCE/LLL activities? What is in and what is outside the scope?			**X**	**X**								
5.03	Geography	What are geographically the focal points? You offer most programs in the local language - why?			**X**	**X**								
5.04	Expertise	Which expertise does the HEI have in UCE/LLL?		**(X)**	**X**	**X**		**X**						
5.05	Organisation	Where are the UCE/LLL activities positioned and how are they organised (competencies, staff, reporting lines)? What is the UCE/LLL governance structure? To which extent are LLL leaders are clearly identified, responsibilities are allocated to them and organisation members are accountable to them?			**X**	**X**								
5.06	Infrastructure	Which type of infrastructure do you have for UCE/LLL (ex. mailbox or building, (classrooms, breakout rooms, etc.)			**X**	**X**								
5.07	Organisation	To which extent is LLL a key strategic objective for the HEI (strategy, resources, building, staff development, representation, presence)?	**(X)**	**(X)**	**X**	**X**		**X**						
5.08	Organisation	How are the UCE/LLL activities integrated with the faculties (teaching and research)? How do you see the commitment of the faculty in general team to LLL?		**(X)**	**X**	**X**		**X**						
5.09	Programmes	Which kind of programs do you offer (MAS, DAS, CAS, other short programs, distance)?		**(X)**	**X**	**X**								
5.10	Programmes	How are new programs "born": (1) External demand from industry or corporations (2) Bottom-up based on the initiative of single faculty members (3) top down as part of the HEI strategy		**(X)**	**X**	**X**	**X**							
5.11	Didactics	To which extent do you think do mature students have other learning styles? Does the faculty adapt their didactics when teaching mature students?			**X**	**X**	**X**							

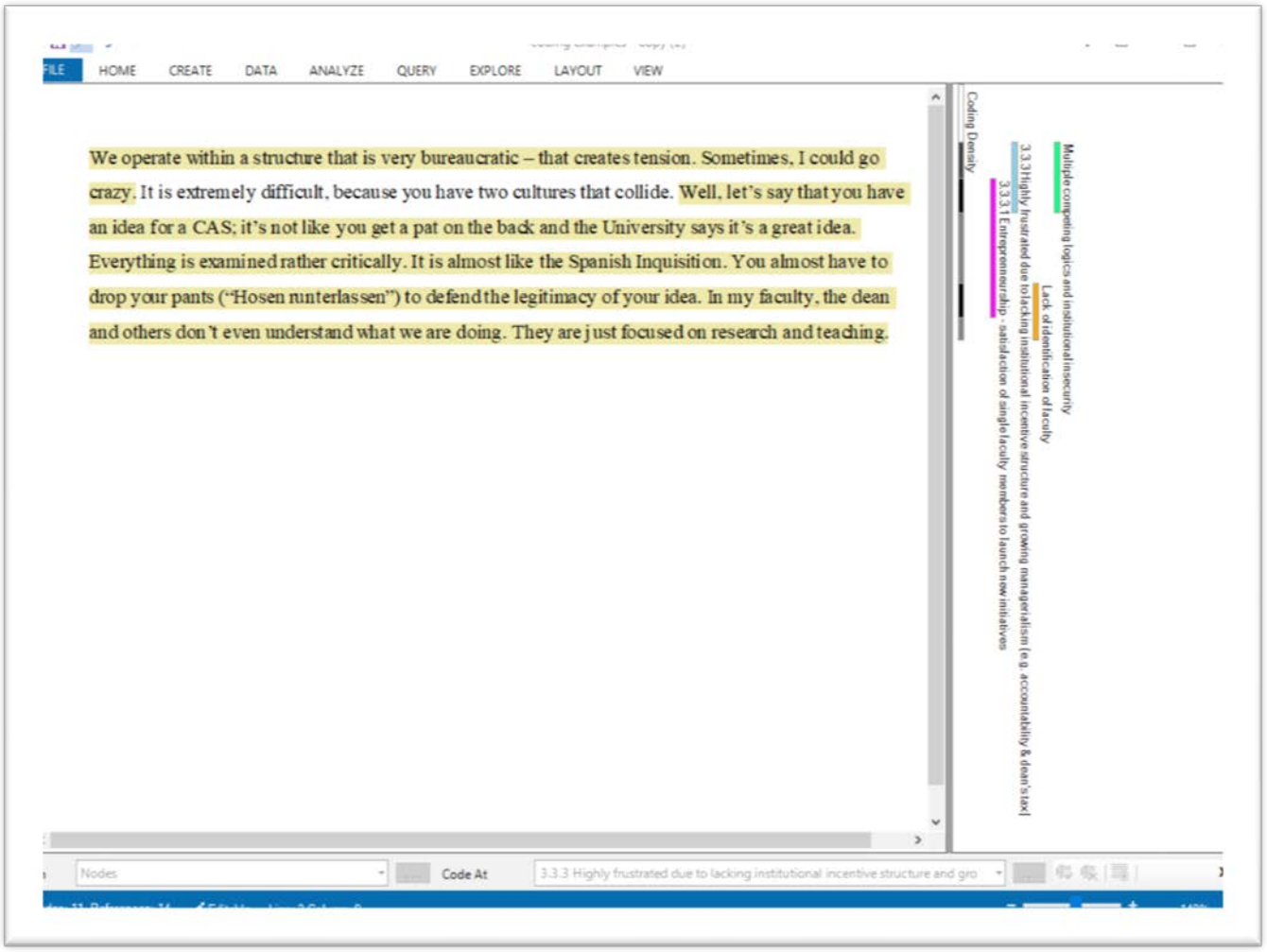
	THEME	OPERATIONALISED QUESTION	INTERVIEWEES											
			Universities						Experts	Regulatory & professional bodies				
			Leadership		UCE			Faculty						
		X = questions of first priority (X) = questions of second priority (time permitting)	Rector	Vice-rector (UCE centre)	UCE Head	UCE Team	UCE Programme directors	Academic staff not involved in UCE	HE/LLL Experts	Confederation	Swiss-universities (former rectors'	Swissuni (UCE professional	EUCEN	UNESCO
5.12	Collaborations	Which are the collaborations you have with other universities, outside organisations (ex. Corporations, associations)?			**X**	**X**	**X**							
5.13	Funding	What is your overall budget (confront with publicly available figures)?		**(X)**	**X**	**X**								
5.14	Funding	How are the UCE/LLL activities funded (different sources)? Have there be any changes over the past years and/or do you foresee any changes in the future? Do you receive any public subsidies? What is your view on this?	**(X)**	**(X)**	**X**	**X**	**X**				**X**	**X**		
5.15	Reporting	Are you aware of the UCE/LLL funding/programme/student situation of other Swiss HEIs? To which extent is there coordination (ex. key indicators to compare, meetings, conferences)?		**X**	**X**	**X**						**X**		
5.16	Positioning	Who do you see as your UCE/LLL competitors? Who are (according to you) the champions in the field?			**X**	**X**	**(X)**							
5.17	Personnel	How much UCE/LLL expertise does the institution have? Where do you see the institution at the top? And where could things be improved? What are the enablers and barriers?	**(X)**	**(X)**	**X**	**X**	X							
5.18	Positioning	How does the UCE/LLL offering of the Swiss HEIs differ from the one of the universities of applied sciences and other competitors?			**X**	**X**		**X**	X			**X**		
5.19	Strategy	To summarise, what do you see as the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the UCE/LLL activities? What will the future hold?			**X**	**X**		**X**	X					

10.3 Coding samples

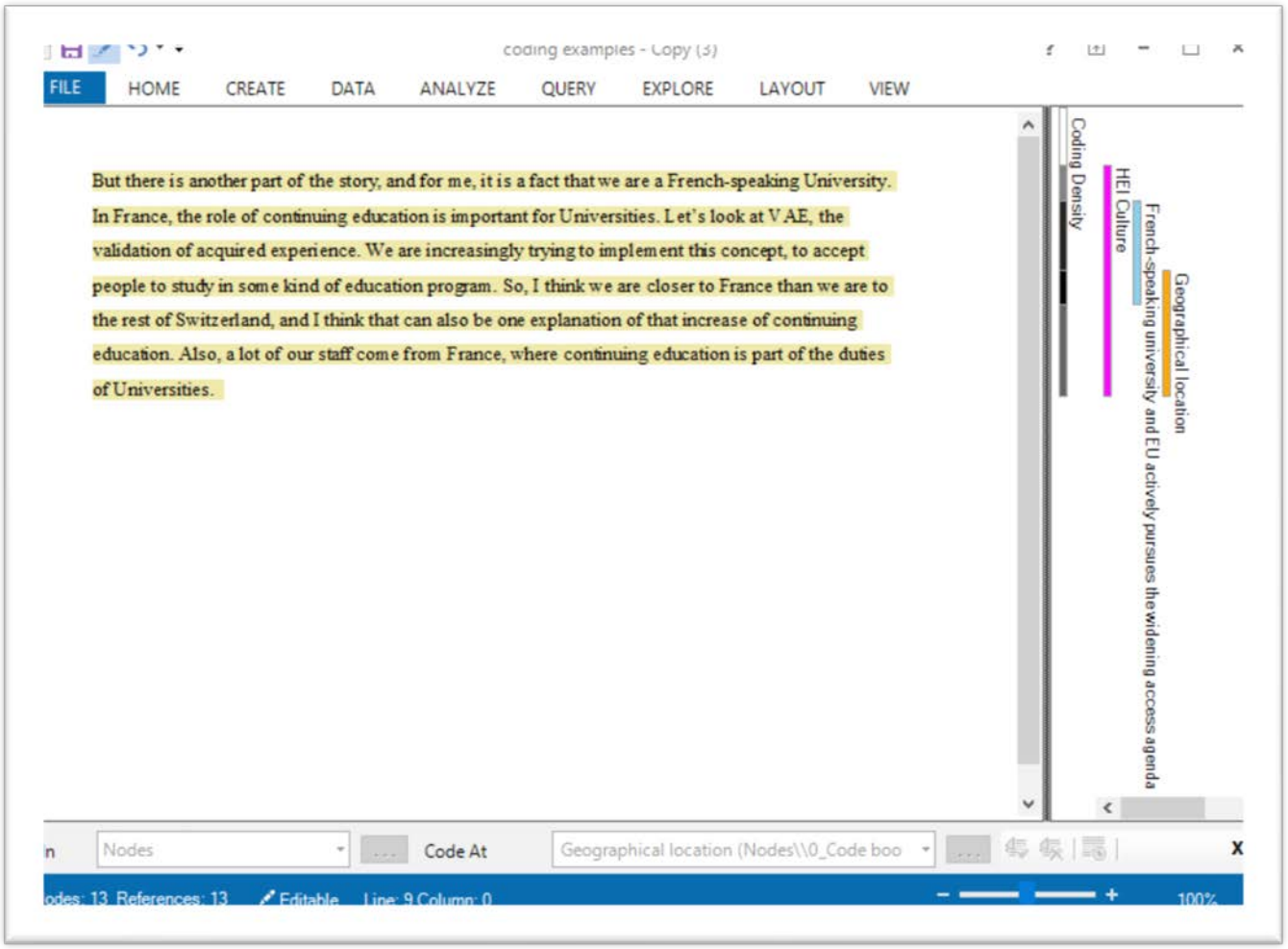
10.3.1 Sample 1



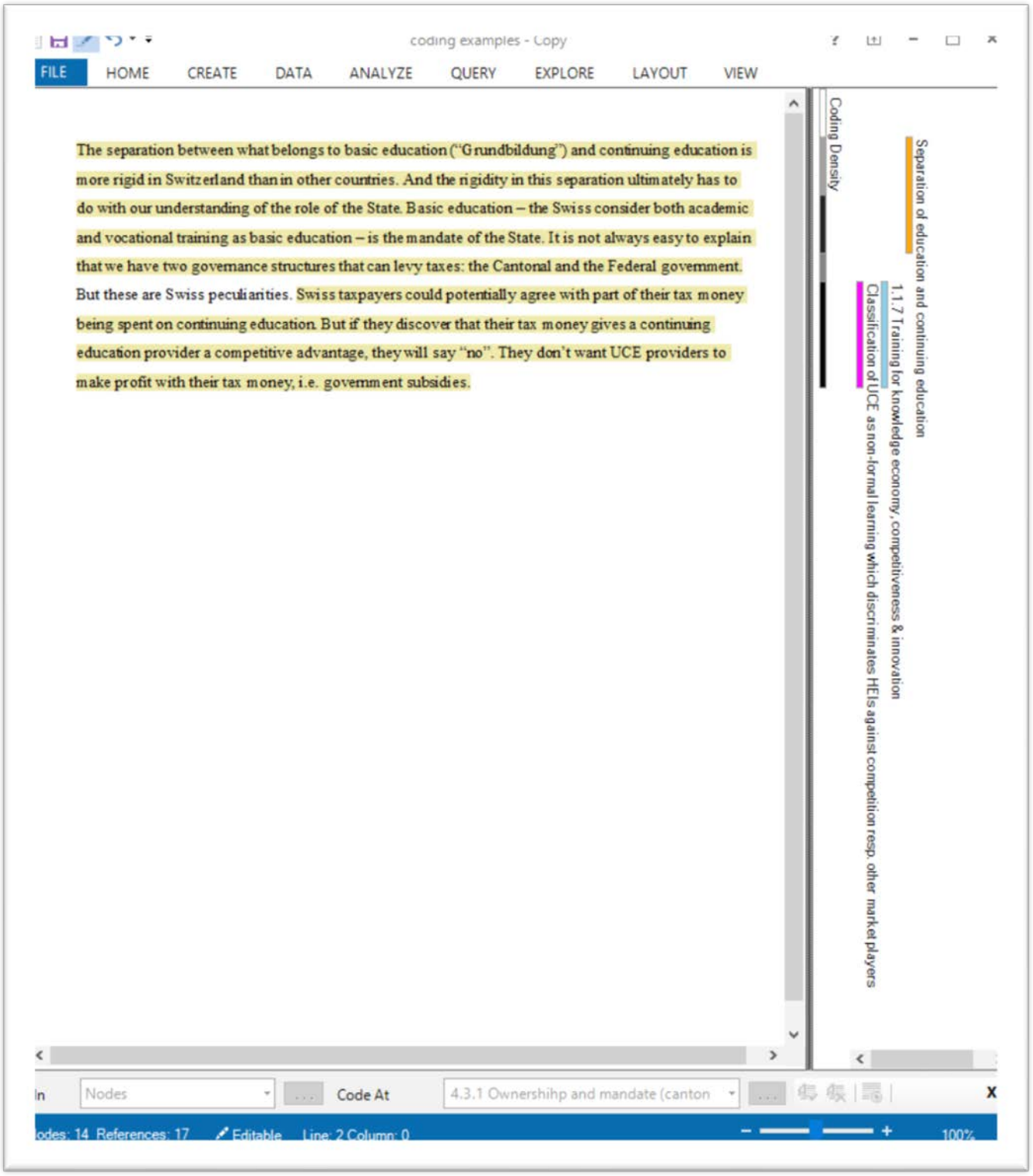
10.3.2 Sample 2



10.3.3 Sample 3



10.3.4 Sample 4



10.4 Code book

Node name	References	Sources
00_BACKGROUND		
0.1_Historical development	**32**	**13**
0.1.1 1968 (-1999) movement of 68 launches the modern university with internal changes as to discourse and hierarchies - however, relationship with society remains almost unchanged	2	2
1972 UNESCO (Jacques Delors) publishes Learning to be and launches the humanistic LLL discourse	1	1
1990s Switzerland experiences strong economic downturn which triggers the launch of the WBO (continuing education stimulus programme) making CHF 150 mio available to launch UCE	5	4
0.1.2 1999 (-now) Bologna declaration and the beginning of the post-modern HEI with increasing permeability, changing relationship between state and HEIs and complex stakeholder map	26	12
1999 - UCE is excluded from Bologna Process resulting in no strategic importance, no funding, and little value (e.g. MAS does not give access to doctoral studies)	2	2
2014 Swiss immigration referendum clearly demonstrates that HEIs have little public affairs capability	3	2
2015 Continuing education law excludes Swiss universities from CE funding	16	9
Classification of UCE as non-formal learning which discriminates HEIs against competition resp. other market players	5	3
Interviewees are little aware of the new continuing education law and even less of the WBO (continuing education stimulus programme) (CHF 200 mio) of the confederation	0	0
0.2_Terminology and paradigm	**39**	**16**
0.2.1 The weak paradigm results in a fuzzy definition and numerous names for UCE and LLL	9	7
0.2.2 ULLL contains a wide palette of activities (outreach, knowledge transfer, widening access, UCE) - UCE a bit less	26	14
Conferences	1	1
Custom programs	2	2
EMBA programs have created the impression that HEIs can make big money with UCE	3	3
Kinderuniversität / Children's university	1	1
MAS, CAS, DAS, ...	1	1
Master - consecutive vs. advanced	6	4
MOOCs	5	4
Public lecture series	1	1
Seniorenuniversität / University of the third age	2	2
Symposia	1	1
0.3_Field/Institutional environment	**89**	**24**
0.3.1 Alumni - UCE is a way of keeping alumni engaged	7	6

Node name	References	Sources
0.3.2 CE Market - is very busy with numerous providers. UCE only occupies a marginal role. Other providers have also succeeded (through the new continuing education law) in not allowing UCE to compete with the market	44	19
Differentiation	9	8
Lack of competition	1	1
Market need	9	6
Market position	3	3
Overly busy market & competition	5	5
Unfair competition	1	1
Universities of applied sciences - currently are much more active in UCE than the universities	11	8
0.3.3 Networks HE policy - UCE does not seem to be a major theme (no specific working groups on the theme)	1	1
European University Association (EUA) - was involved in the ULLL charter, but no follow up or working group	5	4
League of European Research Universities (LERU) - all kinds of working groups, but theme of ULLL or UCE is not covered	2	2
Swissuniversities - does not see ULLL as an important theme, currently more struggling to understand its role within the Swiss HE Governance	21	11
0.3.4 Networks UCE - are toothless tigers who regroup the staff members of the UCE centres, but no HE senior leaders	4	3
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Weiterbildung	3	3
EUA Lifelong Learning Charter	2	2
EUCEN	2	1
Swissuni - thinks of themselves	17	6
0.3.5 Networks with professional world - is better developed than other parts of the university, but not strong enough to co-create programs (also conflicting interests)	6	6
Private sector	3	3
Professional associations	1	1
0.3.6 Political bodies - EU pushes using discourse and indicators & rankings (however, there is a huge divergence in the EU). Switzerland has one of the highest CE participations and sees no need to act	13	7
EU European Union	3	3
Other EU countries	1	1
Swiss Confederation	9	5
Cantons	10	7
Commission for Technology and Innovation (KTI)	2	2
Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF)	1	1
State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation (SBFI)	2	2
Scientific and Innovation Council (Wissenschaft- und Innovationsrat)	1	1

Node name	References	Sources
0.4_UCE Programmes specific characteristics	**146**	**33**
0.4.1 Birth of programme - vast majority of programs are launched due to the motivation of single faculty members (bottom up) and not linked to an organizational strategy.	34	17
Bottom up - see above	11	9
External demand - due to the scarce institutional contact of the university with the professional world, only few programs are triggered by external demand	10	9
Top down - The strategic wish is to have more top down planning, i.e. the programs should be linked with strategically important themes. But at this point, UCE is far from this point.	7	6
0.4.2 Didactics - Didactical innovations often initiate in UCE due to more space for entrepreneurship	26	14
MOOCs	2	2
Online teaching & e-learning	17	11
Teaching & learning style	4	4
0.4.3 Language - mostly local language as UCE seems to serve regional audience - however insecurity about internationalization	6	4
0.4.4 Marketing and branding - are one of the major challenges as marketing is becoming increasingly complex and requires an overall methodological approach beyond one single program	30	16
Brand	5	5
Marketing	23	13
Marketing channels	11	9
brochure	1	1
e-newsletter	6	4
magazine	9	5
social media	5	3
0.4.5 Mature students - have different needs, but also contribute to knowledge transfer	6	5
0.4.6 Non-integration into Bologna System - e.g. MAS do not give access to doctoral studies	1	1
0.4.7 Partnerships & cooperation - outside of HEI's boundaries with other HEIs or the professional world are rare (except for EMBAs)	8	5
0.4.8 Positioning - UCE in the busy CE environment is challenging, especially when it comes to the Universities of applied sciences	3	3
0.4.9 Quality - is a major concern and is often used as a killer argument	15	12
0.4.10 Statistics - only UCE programs with 30 ECTS or more are accounted for in the federal statistics, generally there is no clear reporting and therefore difficulty to fully grasp the development	2	1
0.4.11 Subject field dependency - UCE is mostly active in the social sciences, humanities, medicine and teacher training (legal requirements), there is little to no UCE in the natural sciences	15	13
01_MACRO TRENDS-ISSUES-CHALLENGES_HEIs		
1.1 Policy issues and changing relationship between society and HEIs (logics of state and market)	**72**	**15**

Node name	References	Sources
1.1.1 Neo-liberal market (autonomy) vs. interventionalism from the state - growing autonomy equals increased accountability (Abwälzung von Verantwortung)	24	9
1.1.2 Increased autonomy results in the need to do public affairs (necessity to influence own policy environment). Tricky as Swiss HEIs have little experience in this.	6	4
1.1.3 Ivory tower and detachment from environment cannot be maintained	14	6
1.1.4 Permeability of boundary is growing and needs to be carefully managed - also in terms of institutional boundary spanners, which is not the case yet	10	5
1.1.5 Knowledge transfer - increasing pressure on HEIs to engage in knowledge transfer, link with professional world and show real-life relevance	2	2
1.1.6 Skills gap, employability and job security are a neo-liberal discourse - industry is trying to put the blame on HEIs	5	5
1.1.7 Training for knowledge economy, competitiveness & innovation	9	6
1.1.8 Resource scarcity will grow while demands on HEIs will continue to increase	1	1
1.2 Increasing competition and marketization of HE force HEIs to invest resources into attracting students	**59**	**20**
1.2.1 Growing marketization	9	6
Corporate communication	1	1
1.2.2 Increasing competition	45	18
Benchmarking	3	2
Universities of applied sciences vs. universities	10	9
Universities vs. professional associations	2	2
1.3 Massification of HE - increase of student numbers	**6**	**5**
1.4 Bologna process has not been completely digested	**19**	**6**
1.4.1 Divergence of HE systems and institutions in EU	3	3
1.4.2 Struggle of Swiss HEIs to fully implementing the Bologna Process -- contents of programs have not really been adapted	16	6
1.5 Future identity of HEIs is uncertain	**34**	**17**
1.5.1 Internationalization-Globalisation increasingly impacts HEIs	12	7
Local-global tension	4	4
1.5.2 Pressure to increasingly train for skills (skills gap)	2	2
1.5.3 Need to tackle widening access and validation d'acquis	1	1
1.5.4 Cater for non-traditional students and become a LLLU	5	3
Extension of the education chain (Bildungskette) to fully integrate UCE (continuous knowledge acquisition)	15	10
Increasing need for continuous knowledge acquisition	3	3
Part-time students and modularization - need to accommodate	5	2
1.5.5 New technologies question the future role of Universities as the only place of knowledge production and diffusion (debundling)	1	1

Node name	References	Sources
1.5.6 Trend towards new public management & managerialism	18	10
02_SOURCES, MEANING AND DEGREE OF INSTITUTIONAL PRESSURES & RESOURCE DEPENDENCY		
2.1 SOURCES OF PRESSURE	332	32
2.1.0 Absence of pressure - except for top HE leadership who operate is boundary spanners, generally very little pressure is perceived	18	12
2.1.0 Diffuse pressure - inability to clearly identify the type of pressure and origin because of increasing complexity of stakeholders and demands	16	9
2.1.1 Isomorphic pressures	99	25
Coercive isomorphism generally is weak with the EU's limited open method of coordination and Switzerland's reluctance to support HEIs in UCE	23	12
Transnational (Europe) - increasing pressure as to knowledge transfer, real-world relevance and link with professional world (and lack of HEIs to connect this discourse with UCE)	3	3
Exclusion of UCE from Bologna process results in (deliberate) political ambiguity, thus uncertainty	0	0
Long-standing LLL discourse exercises coercive pressure on HEIs throughout the EU	1	1
The growing budget (tax money) allocated to HEIs results in higher expectations from policy makers and society in general	2	2
Switzerland - contradictory messages (uncertainty) from official bodies - HEIs should get involved in UCE but receive no funding and should not compete with market. But outreach, knowledge transfer & training for the knowledge economy are import.	9	6
Almost total absence of UCE in policy discussions - Little to no direct political pressure (there would have to be resources) from CH government - although UCE is increasingly present in the HEI's mandates	6	5
Inability of HEIs to defend UCE interest (e.g. don't link it to outreach, knowledge transfer)	4	2
Legal framework - 3 out of 4 HEIs have UCE mentioned in their mandate (Cantonal HE law), however, it is very unspecific	5	5
Numerous CE providers on the market - politically no true need to pressure universities to do more	3	1
Private providers	5	3
Professional bodies	1	1
Universities of applied sciences	1	1
Mimetic isomorphism plays a relevant role as there is major uncertainty concerning the role that HEIs should play in UCE - this results in imitation of other HEIs that are perceived as more successful	3	2
Normative isomorphism could be powerful if there were adequate representation of UCE, which is not the case	73	22
Improve rankings and indicators - however, UCE is not being taken into account at this point	21	15
Legitimization (internal and external) - this is probably the most powerful reason at this point (not considering the indivdual motivation)	16	12
Legitimacy external	26	15
Legitimacy internal	7	5
Raise visibility - as part of marketization	5	4
2.1.2 Resource dependency (marco level) - the public funding (WBO - CHF 200 mio) of UCE during the economic crisis of 1990s resulted in numerous HEIs UCE initiatives	3	2
Lack of resources and incentives - at this point means that HEIs have little motivation see UCE as a key priority	3	2

Node name	References	Sources
2.1.3 Individual motivation (micro level resource dependency) of single entities or actors inside the HEI (micro level) -- strong force but has limited sustainability	196	27
Single actors perceive almost none of the outside pressure. However, there is some individual and resource dependency pressure that encourages them to get involved in UCE	193	27
LLL MOTIVATION & TRIGGER at programme level	189	27
Alumni (at HE level)	1	1
Continuity issue (single actors)	12	8
Financial resources	24	15
Institutional entrepreneurs & individual motivation	44	17
Knowledge transfer	21	13
Legal-compliance	1	1
Motivation of students	1	1
Network building	4	4
Opening up to LLL	1	1
Participants	1	1
Pay for team members	1	1
Profiling (visibility) of subject or issue	12	9
Research cross-funding	4	3
Self-legitimization of function or institute	12	8
Subject field dependency	15	13
Synergies	2	2
Teaching of faculty	21	14
UCE commission (which contains representatives higher up in the HEI hierarchy) perceives the outside pressure, but unclear how much sense they make out of it	1	1
University leadership - Governance cycle is fairly short which forces rector to only focus on key priorities	2	2
2.2 MEANING & DEGREE OF PRESSURE	81	26
2.2.1 Marco level	6	4
EU exercises moderate to strong pressure through a neo-liberal discourse through indicators, reports, charters and projects (soft governance)	10	5
Switzerland --- at a marco level there is little to no awareness of EU discourse and generally there is little pressure due to	6	4
CH has one of the highest CE participations worldwide (not HEIs) - no urgency to act	2	2
Low unemployment rate among academics (as opposed to the 1990s economic crisis when WBO was launched)	1	1

Node name	References	Sources
No direct political pressure (there would have to be resources) from CH government - however some pressure on knowledge transfer and liaising with the professional world	2	1
No representation of UCE at macro level	4	3
Some discussions in specialist areas or niches, but not successful in positioning the theme on the political agenda	1	1
2.2.2 Meso level (HEIs) - competing priorities & mission overload - HEI leadership is confronted with numerous other demands that they see as more urgent than UCE resulting in little strategic focus on the issue	70	23
Coercive pressure - HEIs perceive little pressure (but uncertainty) from federal or cantonal government to offer UCE-- not part of core mission (except HEI A)	37	16
However, some pressure for widening access & validation d'acquis (more perceived by UCE team, not so much by leadership) which they are struggling to make sense of	31	14
But then there are some success stories (however, uncertainty of where CH wants to go as to the opening access)	1	1
French-speaking university and EU actively pursues the widening access agenda	3	3
German-speaking universities struggle with the idea of opening up to untraditional learners	3	3
The killer argument is maintaining quality standards	8	5
Some diffuse pressure on knowledge transfer and interacting with the professional world that HEIs fail to link to UCE	4	3
Some tendency to satisfy external outreach expectations with UCE	2	1
Mimetic pressure - due to the uncertainty around UCE HEI leadership is attentively watching what other HEIs are doing and feel pressure to act at some point	5	2
HEI leadership is attentively watching what other HEIs are doing - but this is not perceived inside the organization	1	1
HEIs are nervous about to the very active UCE offering of the UAS and other numerous CE providers on the market	3	1
Private providers	9	5
Professional bodies	1	1
Universities of applied sciences	1	1
Normative pressure - some moderate pressure from the EU LLL discourse and UCE networks - however these UCE networks are not well connected with HEI leadership or policy makers (toothless tigers)	1	1
UCE pressure comes more in the form of teaching innovation (e.g. distance learning, MOOCs)	1	1
Multiple competing (conflicting & non-conflicting) demands and expectations	26	16
Micro level (inside HEIs) perception of external pressure is very limited - motivation is mostly out of individual interest (numerous motivations)	5	5
Internal single actors try to push UCE onto the strategic agenda but are not very successful. However, their motivation is not linked to outside pressure (they do not perceive it)	1	1
Little to now knowledge of policy framework or issues	15	7
Single actors perceive almost none of the outside pressure. Their motivation is intrinsic.	4	4
03_RESPONSES TO INSTITUTIONAL PRESSURES & RESOURCES to offer UCE programs (question - which one more than the other)		
3.1 Macro-level	**2**	**1**

Node name	References	Sources
3.1.1 Lack of Public Affairs - HEIs have not been successful in defending their UCE interests and funding during the negotiation phase for the new continuing education law (as opposed to other market players)	1	1
3.1.2 Federal offices - unclear who is responsible (where the discussion takes place) for UCE (I need to call)	9	4
3.1.3 Swissuniversities (CRUS) is unclear about its role and feels little to no pressure to engage in the UCE discussion	1	1
3.1.4 Absence of UCE in HEI policy bodies in CH and EU -- no representation	3	2
3.2 Meso-level (HEIs)	**186**	**33**
3.2.1 Leadership express that there is an increasing number of demands placed on the HEI (multiple competing priorities, institutional complexity and insecurity)	24	11
3.2.2 Majority of HEI leadership perceives little UCE pressure (also little awareness of UCE discourse) - UCE does not have strategic priorities (nowhere near research and teaching)	23	15
3.2.3 No funding (resource dependency) highly discourages HEIs to get involved in UCE -- complete self-funding is an illusion	1	1
3.2.4 Decoupling - talk & no action (e.g. annual reports, vision, mission and promotional material claim that the HEI is committed to UCE)- reaction to some perceived normative pressure - organizational hypocrisy	23	13
3.2.5 Non-representation of UCE at HEI leadership level internally and externally results in no sensemaking and strategy absence	7	5
3.2.6 Boundary spanning is a key strategic capability- Little boundary spanning results in boundary gaps between HEI and policy makers, the professional world and also inside the HEI - and lack of sensemaking and strategy	1	1
Representation and boundary spanning are key for strategizing	30	12
Environmental scanning is minimal due to the limited number of boundary spanners	12	8
Changing environment (needs and expectations) requires internal actors (boundary spanners) who express these changes. If nobody makes sense of these changes, nobody can act upon them. Changing environmental conditions will be ignored.	6	6
Boundary gaps inside the HEI result in diverging perceptions as to the strategic importance of themes linked UCE (leadership - programme directors - UCE centre)	13	8
Boundary gap between HEI and policy makers result in diverging perceptions (if any) of the external UCE political discourse (leadership - programme directors - UCE centre)	21	11
Boundary gap between HEI and professional world result in lost opportunities	5	3
Representation, debating platforms & location of discussion for UCE are scarce and not always easy to locate - both externally and internally	15	7
LLL Debating platforms (external)	6	4
LLL Representation (external)	17	8
LLL Representation (internal)	22	11
UCE Communication & knowledge transfer internally (debating platforms)	12	9
3.2.6 UCE strategy is a document that has little impact at a HEI strategy level - more a guideline what can or cannot be done	15	3
3.2.8 Organizational identity (DNA) plays a key role in how the HEIs responds	35	18
Separation of education and continuing education - a few HEI leaders question the separation	3	3
3.2.9 Academic culture - strong autonomy of faculties and the loosely coupled system makes pushing the UCE theme tricky	1	1

Node name	References	Sources
3.2.10 Lobbying, public affairs & agenda setting - HEIs are starting to develop their capacities but compared to industry still have a lot to learn. However, UCE is not one of the key priorities.	73	13
Agenda setting	14	6
Issues management	0	0
Lobbying	13	7
One voice	3	3
3.2.11 Stakeholder management - HEI find it challenging to manage the increasingly complex stakeholder map - lack of strong relationships	6	5
3.3 Micro-level (sub-units and single actors)	**158**	**27**
3.3.1 The strongest pressure is internal and comes from single actors (entrepreneurs) from inside the HEIs, but it is not part of a strategic plan	1	1
3.3.2 Individual motivations of single actors at programme level are manifold	149	26
Entrepreneurship - satisfaction of single faculty members to launch new initiatives	44	17
Financial resources - generate some income to cross finance other activities (research, staff, conference participation, etc)	24	15
Knowledge transfer - experiencing satisfaction when transmitting one's knowledge to the professional world	21	13
Mature students - satisfaction of working with experienced and motivated students (cross-fertilization)	2	2
Network building - building a network with the professional world that can be leveraged long-term	4	4
Research - possibility to get access to data	4	3
Visibility and self-legitimization of theme, institute or person	16	12
Creating a platform for faculty to teach	21	14
3.3.3 Highly frustrated due to lacking institutional incentive structure and growing managerialism (e.g. accountability & dean's tax)	7	5
3.3.4 As managerialism is on the rise (e.g. dean's tax and reporting), there is an emerging power struggle between the UCE centre and individual LLL entrepreneurs in the faculty and faculty members	4	3
3.3.5 Boundary spanners - HEI leadership is not involved in boundary spanning & UCE leadership are underdogs	4	2
04_ORGANISATIONAL FILTERS		
4.1_FIELD	**71**	**23**
4.1.1 Field position		
Age		
Faculties		
Geographical scope		
Size		
UCE Offering		
4.1.2 Overall field structuration		

Node name	References	Sources
HEIs	1	1
Alumni	7	6
HE networks	0	0
European University Association (EUA)	5	4
League of European Research Universities (LERU)	2	2
Swissuniversities	21	11
Universities of applied sciences	11	8
LLL Market	33	16
Differentiation	9	8
Lack of competition	1	1
Market need	9	6
Market position	3	3
Overly busy market & competition	5	5
Unfair competition	1	1
LLL Networks	4	3
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Weiterbildung	3	3
EUA Lifelong Learning Charter	2	2
EUCEN	2	1
Swissuni	17	6
Network with working world	6	6
Private sector	3	3
Professional associations	1	1
Political bodies	13	7
EU European Union	3	3
Other EU countries	1	1
Swiss confederation	9	5
Canton	10	7
KTI	2	2
National Fund	1	1
SBFI	2	2

Node name	References	Sources
Wissenschafts- und Innovationsrat	1	1
4.2_HEI MISSION, VISION & STRATEGY	**148**	**36**
4.2.1 HEI Culture	40	18
Academic culture, liberty and free space to operate	20	11
Conflicts concerning decisions, resources, power, ...	2	2
Consensus-based tradition	2	1
Lack of identification of faculty	12	9
4.2.2 HEI Mission and mandate	20	17
Informing the public debate	4	3
Knowledge transfer and outreach	17	13
LLL	0	0
Mention of LLL	6	3
No mention of LLL	1	1
Mission overload	20	9
Research & teaching (traditional mandate)	1	1
Research	12	9
Research funding	2	2
Research orientation for differentiation	1	1
Teaching (Bildungsauftrag)	2	1
4.2.3 HEI Strategy	5	4
LLL	6	4
Absent from objectives	4	3
Among objectives	4	3
Strategic place of conversation & decision	5	5
Strategic priorities and choices	19	10
Strategizing process	10	7
Strategy absence	9	5
Systemic view	2	1
4.2.4 LLL Future	19	10
4.2.5 LLL Mission	4	4

Node name	References	Sources
4.2.6 LLL Strategy and decision processes	29	15
Resources (means) and incentives	1	1
4.3_BOUNDARY SPAN, ENVIRON SCAN, REPRESENTATION (internal/external), COMMUNICATIONS, PUBLIC AFFAIRS	**165**	**28**
4.3.1 Boundary spanning	34	18
Boundary gap between HEI and policy makers	1	1
Boundary gap between HEI and professional world	5	3
Boundary spanners	4	2
Environmental scanning	12	8
Permeability of boundary	6	4
4.3.2 Lobbying, public affairs & agenda setting	73	13
Agenda setting	14	6
Issues management	1	1
Lobbying	13	7
One voice	3	3
4.3.3 Representation, debating platforms & location of discussion for HEI (not specifically LLL)	7	4
4.3.4 Representation, debating platforms & location of discussion for LLL	15	7
LLL Communication & knowledge transfer internally (debating platforms)	12	9
LLL Debating platforms (external)	6	4
LLL Representation (external)	17	8
LLL Representation (internal)	22	11
4.3.5 Stakeholder management (external communication)	6	5
4.3.6 Internal communication	251	38
UCE commission is distant from HE leadership (toothless tiger)	4	2
UCE is not integrated into the teaching theme (Lehre). The CE commission is detached.	1	1
4.4_HEI GOVERNANCE AND STRUCTURE	**105**	**26**
4.4.1 Governance and ownership (macro)	103	26
Historical development	6	5
Ownership and mandate (cantonal and federal university law)	20	7
Changing roles of confederation & canton (centralisation)	9	6
Changing power balance between Confederation-Cantons-HEIs (more autonomy)	3	3

Node name	References	Sources
Accountability & transparency	7	5
Governance through data & statistics	8	3
Federal system and new law on HE	7	7
4.3.2 Governance and structures (meso/micro)	0	0
HEI Governance	0	0
Composition and role of university council	3	3
Role of Rector & HE Leadership	13	10
Autonomy of faculties	3	2
Better preparing faculty for leadership roles	2	2
Need for a "Mittelbau" (mid-level academic positions)	1	1
LLL Governance	41	17
LLL Commission	12	9
LLL Governance dean-faculty	16	12
LLL Programme management	19	11
LLL Head - position & role	14	10
Status of membership in LLL commission	1	1
Long power distance between Head LLL and rector	2	2
Role in driving LLL strategy	4	4
4.5_ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY	**117**	**31**
Organizational identity and culture	19	12
Attitude towards LLL	10	5
Decoupling (rhetoric without action & hypocrisy)	23	13
Separation of education and continuing education (decoupling and structural hybrid)	3	3
Conflict between central LLL centre and individual LLL entrepreneurs in the faculty and faculty members (power struggle)	4	3
Multiple competing logics and institutional insecurity	24	11
UCE is seen as an alien element in HEIs	1	1
Change towards LLL	13	6
Change champions	3	2
Change drivers	4	2
Changing environment	1	1

Node name	References	Sources
Changing role of leadership	3	3
05_ENABLERS and BARRIERS for successful UCE (if desired)	**197**	**30**
5.1 Ensure representation (internal and external) of UCE and a seat at the HEI leadership table		
5.2 Connect UCE with other themes such as outreach, knowledge transfer, alumni, teaching innovation and take an integrative approach	**14**	**10**
5.2.1 Engaging alumni and legal compliance (e.g. medicine and teacher training) seem legitimate reasons for HEIs' leadership to offer (some) UCE	2	2
Keep alumni engaged with HEI	1	1
Legal-compliance in cases like medicine or teacher training	1	1
5.2.2 Leverage teaching innovations - bust must move to true strategic approach and not a response to outside pressure	1	1
5.2.3 Research possibilities and knowledge transfer	11	9
5.3 Define innovative business models that integrate current key tasks of the university with UCE (e.g. hybrid organisation)	**1**	**1**
5.4 Lobby for some public funding - this might be a long shot, but one needs to start somewhere	**3**	**1**
5.4.1 Need for an own public fund like for research to co-finance CE activities	1	1
5.4.2 The current logic that UCE can be 100% self-financed is flawed. Need for investment for funding - not just for teaching, but also for infrastructure and service structure.	1	1
5.5 Define incentives to for faculty to engage in continuing education (one more thing beside research, teaching and knowledge transfer)	**29**	**11**
5.5.1 LLL Recognition and rewards for LLL effort	19	8
5.5.2 Position CE as part of knowledge transfer in both directions	1	1
5.5.3 Possibility for private research funding and access to data	1	1
5.6 Change champions can also play a key role in bringing UCE to the top of the agenda (boundary spanning, sensemaking, persuasion, etc.)	**3**	**2**
5.7 Ensure means from admin support to infrastructure	**144**	**30**
5.7.1 Funding	4	2
5.7.2 LLL Admin support	13	8
5.7.3 LLL Funding and costs	96	26
Dean's tax	19	13
Financial reporting	3	2
Financial risk	2	1
Financial support & cross-subsidization	23	13
Public funding	16	10
Resource motivation (Anreizstruktur)	10	10
5.7.4 LLL Infrastructure	12	10

Node name	References	Sources
5.8 Develop staff to better understand HEIs (organizational studies) - this is a necessity as universities are becoming more complex	**3**	**2**